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Volume I no 7 -

Volume V no 12

London G. Mitt. Nov 1886 - Jan 1892

Index vol IV



THE

BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

AKKADIAN AND SUMERIAN IN COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY.

§ 1. THE position which the Sumerian and Akkadian dialects¹ are entitled to take in the languages of the world is still disputed.

A broad connection with the Turanian languages² has been claimed for them from the beginning, i. e., 1854, and several times denied with apparent reason. Altaic scholars of eminence, as well as comparative philologists engaged in other lines of linguistic research, have objected to the proposed classification³ of the Akkadian among the Ugro-Finnish languages. Too confident in the small variability (apparent only) of these tongues, and despite the fact that the ground they offer to study is limited by the existent literary documents to five or six centuries only, they had based their objection on two main discrepancies. The position of the adjective or genitive in Akkadian, with a few exceptions, is after the word which it qualifies, while the reverse is the rule in Uralo-Altaic. The verbal conjugation most frequently in use in Akkadian is prepositive, or largely incorporating, and not postpositive, as in the said languages. The objection, which is chiefly grammatical, was enhanced by the incorrectness of some premature comparisons of words still dubiously deciphered, and rested mainly on the old assumption that grammar is a permanent feature in a language.

§ 2. A large proportion of the Sumero-Akkadian affinities with the Turki languages, ably shewn lately by Prof. Hommel,⁴ will certainly remain as genuine instances of a relationship, however remote it may be proved to be, and whatever explanation it may receive. But the question remains whether a similarly large, if not larger, proportion of affinities might not be proved related as well to another branch of the Turanian languages. Though some of the Ugro-Finnish affinities pointed out ten years ago by the late François Lenormant, are now disqualified by recent progress and better decipherment, many of them stand good.⁵ And their number is large enough, in phonetic, glossarial, and morphological similarities, to show that, after all, the balance of affinities does not lean more on the Turko-Tartaric than on the Ugro-Finnish side.

Dr Hommel has the merit of having established, beyond all reasonable doubts, that parts of the phonesis, morphology, and many words of the Sumero-Akkadian dialects, have a decidedly Turanian character; which conclusion, before his last papers, had still remained unsettled.

§ 3. Notwithstanding these efforts, even this solution is open to doubt, so far as it bears on the genealogy of the language, as long as the grammatical objections have not been re-

1) The distinction of the dialects was not made scientifically before 1880. See my note on *The Sumerian and Akkadian dialects*, The Academy, June 1, 1882, No. 530.

2) Including three large divisions, each comprehending several families or groups: a) *Uralo-Altaic*; b) *Kuenbunic*; c) *Himalaic*; and some minor ones, as shown in my forthcoming work on *The Science of Language*, chiefly with reference to S. E. Asia.

3) As at first claimed by the late François Lenormant in several of his works, notably: *La Langue primitive de la Chaldée et les Idioms Touraniens*, Paris, 1875, 8vo; *Chaldean Magic*, London, 1878, 8vo. In the latter work, p. 294, he had somewhat modified his views, and claimed an equal parentage with the Ugro-Finnish and Turko-Tartaric groups.

4) In two valuable papers: *Die Sumero-Akkadische Sprache und ihre Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse*, 65 pp., reprinted from the *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, Munich, 1884, vol. i.; *The Sumerian language and its affinities*, 13 pp., in *J. R. A. S.*, 1886, vol. xviii.

5) For instance, despite Prof. Hommel's ingenious comparisons with the Turki, I cannot help finding the Sumero-Akkadian numerals more similar to the Ugric than to the Altaic numerals. Vid. F. Lenormant's Tables of Comparison, *Chaldean Magic*, p. 300.

moved; and should they prove insuperable, as some Altaist scholars maintain, these affinities will require another explanation, such, for instance, as a Turanian importation and superimposition on the Sumerian and Akkadian, whose relationship and origin will have to be sought for elsewhere.

The population speaking the Akkado-Sumerian dialects may have been of Turanian origin, though the monumental evidence, far from being conclusive in favour of a mongoloid type, suggests more an hybrid type than any other of a pure race. So that would not preclude the possibility, when coming down to the vicinity of the Persian gulf, of their having adopted a language different from their own, though retaining something of their phonesis, vocabulary and morphology.

§ 4. Therefore the interesting problems, historical and linguistic, of the genealogy of Akkadian and Sumerian, still remain unsolved, and must so continue, as long as the important grammatical question which their solution implies is left unanswered and open. And it cannot be answered but by a special study of Comparative Ideology, in the department of which is the point at issue.

§ 5. This new branch of the science of language is concerned with the word-order in the sentence; it proves that languages are respectively built according to a few different *plans of thought*, and that grammar, though with greater difficulty than any other part of a language, does evolve, mix and change under the pressure or intermingling of another language having a different ideology.⁶ In a special work⁷ I have ventured to show that it is a most important factor for ethnological research, genealogical classification of languages, and the history of the human mind. In order to reduce its difficult management to

a minimum and make it practical, I make use of the following formulæ of Arabic and Roman figures which, with five figures, (four Arabic for the separate points of word-order, and one Roman for the sentence arrangements), permit the ideology of any language to be notated in its main lines:

- 1, genitive + noun — 2, noun + genitive;
- 3, adjective + noun—4, noun + adjective;
- 5, object + verb—6, verb + object;
- 7, verb + subject—8, subject + verb;⁸
- I, object + subject + verb—II, obj. + verb + subject;
- III, verb+obj.+subj.—IV, verb+subj.+obj.
- V, subj.+obj.+verb—VI, subj.+verb+obj.

* * *

§ 6. The Ideological Indices of the Akkadian, $\frac{2}{1} \frac{4}{3} 5. 8. I.$ are rather complex, and those of the Sumerian dialect, supposed to be of later date, 2. 4. 5. 8. V, show, in comparison with the other, an ongoing or regressive evolution of the language which it is important to examine carefully. Both are hybrid formulæ, and suggest an intermingled influence of languages of different linguistic formations.

§ 7. The first two points of ideology in Akkadian, $\frac{2}{1} \frac{4}{3}$, for the positions, postpositive and prepositive, of the genitive and adjective, require to be explained away. The four positions, noun + adjective, adjective + noun, genitive + noun, and noun + genitive, do not appear equally in the ancient texts.

The preposition of the genitive to the noun is found in group-characters which have remained undisturbed when the indirect ideology, in accordance with which their composition had been framed, was no longer in use. E.g., *zu-ab*, lit. "wisdom's residence," read *ab-zu*, lit. 'residence of wisdom,' for abyss⁹;

6) Cf. *Comparative Ideology, The Academy*, No. 748, Sept. 4, 1886.

7) *Word-order or Ideology of Languages and its relation to history.* (London, D. Nutt, 1886, 8vo.)

8) These formulæ are extended in the above work, with the help of diacritical marks and small additional letters, in order to carry the descriptions and distinctions further, as shewn in the instances below.

9) Fritz Hommel, *Die Semitische Völker und Sprachen*, p. 295.

bil-gi, lit. 'fire's convey,' read *gi-bil*,¹⁰ with the same meaning in another ideology.

The preposition of the adjective to the noun, 3, is only known through similar instances of former group-characters which have remained crystallized. For instance: *Gal-lu*, 'great man', read *lu-gal*, or 'man great';
Gal-ušum, 'great unique', read *ušum-gal*¹¹, or 'unique great'.

Otherwise genitive and adjective follow their nouns, 2, 4, as in *e-sag-il*, 'house of (the) head high'¹², as they always do in Sumerian, according to the Semitic Assyrian ideology, which has most probably affected the ideology of these languages on those two points.

§ 8. So that, after all, the first two points of inversive ideology, 1, 3, are not regularly used in the oldest current texts; they are only met with crystallized in a few obsolete groups of characters, thus preserved in the written style, as survivals of a former period. And, consequently, nothing shows that these instances do belong more to the Akkadian than to any other language spoken by any people who used to write these characters in former times. Taking the matter as it stands, with reference to the improbability of the

Akkadians having deflected their ideology on both these points, without having altered the respective positions of the component character of these groups, the great probability is that their arrangement belongs to a pre-Akkadian period, when an older non-Semitic people, speaking an inversive language, made use of this writing, probably of of their own invention or derivation¹³.

§ 9. The third and fourth Indices, 5, 8, showing the preplacing of the object and subject to the verb, stand good for the most ancient and the more modern Akkadian and Sumerian texts. But their relative position has differed, and the syntactical Indices permit to follow the evolution. The first standard, (I., or, Object + subject + verb), was prevalent during the Akkadian or older period, while the Vth standard became dominant in the later or Sumerian period, as it did in Assyrian. It probably remained there as a survival of a former stage, which had been altered in Akkadian for a certain time, by the influence of a pre-Akkadian population, as we shall see hereafter.

§ 10. One of the principal difficulties for the classification of the Akkadian and Sumerian dialects is this complexity of the verb.

10) Name of the god of fire, on which cf. Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, p. 184-8. The learned author had translated *Bil-gi*, 'fire of the rushes', because *gi(n)*=*gi* means 'reed', but this interpretation proves philologically impossible, as it would be against the law of ideology, (1) as in *zu-ab*. There is no doubt that *gil* is here a genitive, in which case *gi* has a noun value of one of the meanings, 'bringen, drehen, evenen, zurückkehren, senden', (cf. P. Haupt, *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, p. 152, for these meanings;) and the compound word alludes to the old practice of fire-drill, as a means of producing fire, which was known in ancient Babylonia. I have already explained as a *pramantha* the cone of wood held by the small kneeled bronze statues, which used to be said of Gudea, in my *Early history of the Chinese civilization*, p. 32, (London, 1880, Svo.)

11) T. G. Pinches, MS. note...Prof. Hommel writes *ershu-gal* in *Die Semitischen Völker und Sprachen*, p. 276.

12) An Akkadian name of the temple of Babel.

13) This will be discussed in a special paper on *The Kushite origin of the Babylonian writing*. I have advocated for several years the existence of the Chaldean or Babylonian writing, anterior to the arrival of the Akkadians there, and in the *J. R. A. S.*, April, 1883, vol. xv., p. 279, n. 3, I gave several palaeographical reasons in support of this view. This discovery of mine has just received new confirmation by the disclosures of Mr G. Bertin, in his paper on *The Pre-Akkadian Semites*, about the original Semitic names of the stars afterwards translated into Akkadian.

Not only could it be expressed by the simple stem¹⁴, but to it might be added series of particles, expressing the persons, both subject and object, or the passive, causative, or intensive idea¹⁵. And, as the late Lenormant had himself stated, this prepositive arrangement is in opposition to the usual postpositive conjugation of the Uralo-Altaic languages¹⁶.

The most interesting phenomenon is that process of incorporation, which was carried in Akkadian to a high extent¹⁷ seldom met with elsewhere, as we shall see hereafter. Let us see how it is exemplified in several instances, and combined with the general arrangement of the sentence. I append the ideological indices :

(Ib) *lu-gišgallu-bi aš ġula lu-kime šumma*¹⁸, lit. 'man-that curse evil lamb-like slaughter(s) -he', for 'the evil curse slaughters that man as a lamb.'

(If) *gabimmanri*, i. e., *gab-im-na-an-ri*¹⁹, lit. 'breast-him-to-he-set,' or, 'he set the breast to him', (he opposed him.)

(Ij) *igimannse*, i. e., *igi-im-na-an-se*,²⁰ lit. 'eye-on-him-he-give(s), for 'he looks at him.'

(I) *munnešingġalla*, i. e., *mu-un-ne-ši-in ġal-ġalla*²¹, lit. 'that-them-to-he-give', for 'he gives that to them'.

(I) *innanlal*, i. e., *in-na-an-lal*,²² lit. 'him to-he-weigh', for 'he weights to him', otherwise, 'he pays him.'

(Vic) *aš ġula galla kime lu-ra ban-in-gar*²³, lit. 'curse evil demon-like man upon itself-it -fix, for 'an evil curse, like a demon, has fixed upon a man.'

(Vic) *Silikmulūki ine im-ma-an-ši*²⁴, lit. *Silikmulūki*, 'mercy him-on-he-place,' for 'Silikmuluki pities him'.

(V) *Ana zae magmen*²⁵, lit. 'heaven-in thou great be', for 'thou art great in heaven'.

While the first of these arrangements is

14) With only the lengthening, or the suffix, marking the plural. Cf. Theo. G. Pinches, *Observations upon the languages of the early inhabitants of Mesopotamia*, p. 14, from *J. R. A. S.*, xvi.

15) T. G. Pinches, *Report on the progress of Cuneiform Research*, p. 96, in *Eleventh Annual Address of the President (A. G. Ellis) to the Philological Society*, May 19, 1882, pp. 77-100.

16) *Chaldean Magic*, p. 286.

17) Mentioned slightly by the late Lenormant, Prof. Sayce, and Dr Paul Haupt. It was noticed by Mr T. G. Pinches and Prof. Hommel in their above papers; and quite lately it has been studied specially in an important paper by Mr G. Bertin, on *L'Incorporation verbale en Accadien*, pp. 105-15, 148-61, in *Revue d'Assyriologie et Archéologie orientale*, vol. i., (Paris, 1885-6, 4.)

18) Cf. T. G. Pinches, *Report*, p. 94.—On *šumma* cf. Lenormant, *Études Accadiennes*, ii, 226: iii., 9; Ed. de Chossat, *Répertoire Sumerien* (Akkadien) p. 192, (Lyons, 1882, 8vo.)

19) T. G. Pinches, *Observations upon the languages of the early inhabitants of Mesopotamia*, p. 10. Reprinted from *J. R. A. S.*, vol. xvi., 1884.—*Western Asia Inscriptions*, iv, 26, 15.

20) Cf. T. G. Pinches, *Observations*, p. 10.—*Western Asia Inscriptions*, iv, 26, 15.; G. Bertin, *De l'Incorporation*, p. 12.

21) *Western Asia Inscriptions*, iv., 5, 61.; G. Bertin, *De l'Incorporation*, p. 11.

22) Cf. Fr. Lenormant, *Glossaire*, in Ed. de Chossat, *Répertoire Sumerien*, p. 75.

23) Cf. T. G. Pinches, *Report*, p. 94.

24) E. Lenormant, *Incantation magique bilingue Chaldéenne, à texte primitif Accadien, avec version Assyrienne*, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1878; cf. p. 223, where *immani* is translated 'grandement + il + a accordé', by a wrong identification of the pronominal suffixes.

25) Cf. E. Lenormant, *Études Accadiennes*, ii., 116, 17.—T. G. Pinches, *Report on the progress of Cuneiform research*, p. 96.

more commonly met in Akkadian, the latter is that which is more usual in Sumerian, and instances could be multiplied without any other result here than a useless lengthening of this paper.

* * *

§ 11. It results from the foregoing remarks and instances that the Ideologies of Akkadian, and, to a less extent, that of Sumerian, are abnormal and composite. The postposition of the genitive and of the adjective have been explained away above as a result from a deep influence of the Semitic ideology. But if this explanation is true, we ought to find also traces of such an important influence as this in the verbal ideology; and if such is the case, the clumsy arrangements as exhibited by the Akkadian verb cannot be considered otherwise than as makeshifts. When object and subject, represented by pronouns more or less dependent, are both incorporated, or one incorporated and one affixed to the verbal base, notwithstanding the presence, independently and outside the verb, of the nouns object and subject, we may be sure that it is the outcome of hybridism. It must be distinctly put apart from the regular phenomenon of incorporation, where the nouns themselves, object or subject, are used, as in Nahuatl of the American Indians. Such complicated arrangements result from the impotent efforts at satisfying the intelligibility required by both people speaking and spoken to, without sacrificing one ideology to the other.

§ 12. Experience teaches us²⁶ that similar phenomena of incorporation take place wherever a language of the fifth syntactical standard (Subject + object + verb) comes under the modifying influence of another language of the fourth standard (verb + subject + object). The Turanian languages whose original family standard of syntax was the Vth, have, according with the sentence word-order of that type, a common tendency of this kind which has remained in a state of virtuality and undevelopment in such of these languages

which have not been pushed onward before having reached a certain degree of fixity from literary culture. But it has been stretched to the utmost by such other of these languages which were compelled by the pressure of one or several tongues of different origin to strive after clearness. The difference of syntactical standards required for this result has just been pointed out. The instances, not to be numerous, are, however, conclusive in some known cases. In Moksha-Mordwin, and some Ugrian tongues, there is a simple incorporation of an objective pronoun which has been rightly or wrongly explained as resulting from the weakness of distinction, between the action and its object, common to the Turanian languages in general, and there carried into practice from the obligation of satisfying some extra want of intelligibility.

§ 13. The phenomena of incorporation are more developed in Abkasian, Vayu (Gangetic), Santhali (Kolarian), and Euskarian. The first is one of the North Caucasian languages, but too little is known of its historical circumstances to give it as an instance explanatory of other cases.

The Euskarian, which is decidedly a stray language of the Uralo-Altai stem, has stretched to their utmost all its capacities under the pressure of languages of the IVth and Vth standard, which have successively surrounded and impressed it. Now the Vayu, one of the Gangetic, and the Santhali, one of the Kolarian, languages of Central India, both belonging to sub-branches of the Turanian family. Himalaic division, are particularly interesting in connection with the object of the present paper. They possess the general features of indirect ideology proper to the stock to which it belongs; but they have altered their syntactical order, and largely developed, specially the Santhali, the phenomenon of incorporation.

The modifying influence there has been that of an Indo-Pacific language narrowly connected with the Peguan and Cambodian of Indo-China, having a direct ideology and a syntax

26) Cf. my *Ideology of Languages and its relation to history*, Part iii.

of the IVth or Vth standard proper to the Indo-Pacific family. All this illustrates the law of comparative ideology mentioned above.

§ 14. But there are some forms of Ideological evolution, taught us by comparative ideology, which we must quote before returning to the Akkadian problem on which they have a direct bearing.²⁷

XVII. *Wherever a language spoken by immigrant tribes is brought into contact with another language of different ideology spoken by a settled population, and intermingles with it, the power of preserving its sentence arrangement is greater with the less civilized of the two, settled or not settled.*

XVIII. *When there is superimposition and not superseding, of two languages spoken by two populations at different stages of civilization, the position of the genitive and adjective which generally prevails as to their nouns, is that proper to the most civilized language, frequently with the addition of an affix.*

XIX. *Under the same conditions, the position of the verb, as to its subject and object, which has the greater chance of prevailing, is that of the less civilized language of the two, frequently with the addition of reiterative pronouns, object and subject.*

XX. *Phenomena of incorporative pronouns, reiterative of object or subject, take place wherever a language of indirect standard (V) comes under the modifying influence of another language of a direct standard (IV, VI).*

* * *

§ 15. Now let us see how the Akkadian and Sumerian imbroglío will yield to the application of the rules and experience exposed in the above page.

The hybridism of the ideology of Akkadian, ½, ¾, 5.8.I, and of that of Sumerian, 2.4.5.8.V, are now clearly such as should be expected

from an intermingling of two opposite normal standards, like 2.4.6.7.IV and 1.3.5.8.V, as wanted by the fourth law mentioned above.

Let us remember that 2.4.6.7.IV, which is a normal standard, and the original one, of the Shemo-Hamitic languages, implies the post-position of the genitive and adjective to their respective noun and the sequel, verb + subject + object, in the sentence; while 1.3.5.8.V also a normal standard and original to the Turanian languages, is the inverse of the other, and requires the ante-position of the genitive and adjective to their noun, and the order, subject + object + verb, for the sentence.

§ 16. In the present case, the language of the IVth standard is that of the Babylonian Semites, which originally, as shewn by an analysis of the older proper names and the position of the pronouns united to the verb at the permansive²⁸, belonged to the normal Shemo-Hamitic standard 2.4.6.7. IV, as exhibited in Egyptian, Arabic, and partly in Hebrew, Gheez, &c. This language which, for convenience, might be called the Assyro-Babylonian, underwent several changes in its syntactical and verbal arrangement, which show that the modifying influence was due to an indirect language, spoken by an uncouth and somewhat uncivilized people. It passed transitorily, as shown by isolated archaisms through the second and third syntactical standards before settling finally with the fifth standard, 2.4.5.8.V. At first sight it might be supposed a result of the Turanian influence suspected above, in other words, of the Akkadian and Sumerian, as we shall see below; but it cannot be the case for two or more reasons. One alteration of the original features of the language had taken place previous to the possibility of any Akkadian influence²⁹, and the Assyro-Babylonian is not the only Shemitic language which has altered in the same way

27) The numbers, XVII—XX, are those under which these rules appear, in the attempt at a classification I have made in my *Ideology of Languages and its relation to history*.

28) G. Bertin, *The Akkadian Semites*. I am indebted to the author for an advanced proof of this paper.

29) G. Bertin, *The Akkadian Semites*.

its original ideological standard. The Syrian Aramaic of the northern and the Amharic of the southern branch have both altered their original standard into 2.4.5.8.V and 1.3.5.8.V respectively.³⁰ Admitting that the Syrian change may have been caused by the Assyro-Babylonian, the explanation is worthless for the Amharic; and what makes it more than doubtful in the first case, is that the early alterations alluded to in Assyro-Babylonian have been pointed out similarly in another language of the same family. Therefore we are to attribute this influence to another and previous local language of indirect ideology of the fifth standard, similar to that which was apparently spoken, as we have seen above, by the people who brought, innovated or, in any case, who made first use of the Chaldean writing. This people was apparently one of the old Kushite tribes, of renowned mythical fame, who used to inhabit the lands and the seashores from Abyssinia to India, and of whom the Bishari, Somali, Agao, Galla, &c., of Abyssinia, the Bagas of the Oman coast, the Brahui of the Northern, the Kolarians of Central, and the Dravidians of Southern India, are the representatives diverged by Semitic Aryan or Negritic intermingling, all of them speaking languages of the fifth standard.

§ 17. The Turanian Ideological Indices (1.3.5.8.V), which analogy of linguistic instances has led us to surmise in the case of the Akkadian and Sumerian, were most certainly those of the original state of these dialects. The abnormal ideology of Akkadian speaks by itself of a deep intermingling, and that of the Sumerian shows still more completely than the preceding,³¹ that the foreign influence was that of a more civilized people than themselves, speaking a direct language which is here the Assyro-Babylonian. The permanence of the word-order, subject, object

and verb in the Sumerian, notwithstanding the altering pressure of the latter, may be accounted for somehow by the apparent probability of their being less under the Assyro-Babylonian pressure than the Akkadians, and their coming into contact with the local Kushite tribes whose general ideology belonged to the fifth class.

§ 18. The syntactical standard of the Akkadian and its incorporative features is, as we have seen above, nothing more than one of those which Turanian languages are apt to assume under the pressure of a foreign tongue, direct in Ideology and powerless to impose its own standard. That 5.8.V, the Turanian standard, was the original one of the Akkadian and Sumerian, is furthermore proved by the common possession of these Ideological Indices by the other extinct languages of S. E. Asia with which a parentage has been claimed. The Indices of the Sumerians were 2.3.5.8.V, and those of the Amardian, $\frac{1}{2}$.4.5.8.I.V.³² The latter known to us at two periods by the inscriptions at Mal-amir and that of the second column of the Akhæmænian inscriptions, also known as Proto-Medic, Medic, Scythic, &c., long after the extinction of Akkadian, had gone a long way towards the possession of similar hybrid ideology as that of the latter. The Susian had altered only its original position of the genitive.

§ 19. No doubt ought to remain now in the mind of our readers about the Turanian character of the Akkadian and Sumerian; they certainly belong to the same stock as the Ugro-Finnish, Turko-Tatar, and Kuenlunic groups of languages; and they have branched off at a very early period, previous to the modern arrangement of these groups, long before they had evolved or acquired their present distinct features. Such is the conclusion of our researches as resumed in the present paper.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

30) *Ideology of languages in its relation to history*, Part iii.

31) By its more complete adoption of the post-position of the genitive and adjective.

32) As exemplified in Prof. A. H. Sayce's learned paper on *The Inscription of Mal-amir, and the Language of the second column of the Akhæmænian Inscriptions*, pp. 638—756, vol. ii. *Actes du VIème Congrès des Orientalistes*, 1883, Leiden.

SIN-GASĪD'S GIFT TO THE TEMPLE Ê-ANA.

THE text which forms the subject of the present paper is one of peculiar interest. It is an inscription, in the Akkadian language, of an early Mesopotamian king who bears a Semitic Babylonian name; and it is not an original, but a copy in clay, by a man named Nabû-bilâtsu-ikbî, of a stone tablet kept, in ancient times, in the great temple of Ê-zûla, now the ruin known as the Birs-Nimroud. The tablet which has come down to us. (of which the plates accompanying this paper will give a fair idea), has been inscribed by the copyist with the utmost care, and the forms of the characters, as he has given them, probably reproduce the exact style of the original. The number of lines of writing is twenty-six, the last line of the obverse (l. 14), however, being double. The three lines at the end are written smaller than the rest, and are in the late-Babylonian style of writing. With the exception of these three lines, and also, of course, of the name of Sin-gasîd, the whole of the text is in the

Akkadian language. The size of the tablet is 4 inches and $\frac{1}{4}$ by 2 inches and $\frac{1}{8}$ th, the thickness in the thickest part being about 1 inch and $\frac{1}{8}$ th. Like most Babylonian tablets, whether of clay or stone, the obverse is flat or nearly so, and the reverse convex—a form probably originally arising from the sinking of the ends of a clay tablet whilst in a soft state, and afterwards adopted by the scribes as a very convenient form for inscribed tablets of all kinds.

In order to make the explanation of the text as clear as possible, I give herewith two transcriptions and two translations. The first transcription gives the text transcribed character by character, the groups only being given as complete words. This is followed by a transcription in which the characters are joined as they ought to be pronounced to make complete words, and a literal translation in parallel columns. Lastly, I have given a free translation in idiomatic English:—

TRANSCRIPTION.

OBVERSE.

1. *D. P. Lugul-banda*
2. *dingir-ra-ni-ir,*
3. *D. P. Ningul*
4. *ana-a-ni-ir.*
5. *D. P. Sin-ga-sî-id,*
6. *lugul Unug-D.S.-ga,*
7. *lugul Am-ni-annum*
8. *u-a Ê-ana,*
9. *Ud Ê-ana-na*
10. *nu-du-a,*
11. *Ê-kankal, Ê ki-tur*
12. *ša-gul-la-ka-ne*
13. *nu-ne-en-du.*
14. *Ba-nun-lugul-la-ka-ni,*

TRANSCRIPTION.

(with the words properly joined).

Lugal-banda dingiranir, Nin-gul amânir, Sin-gasîd, lugal Unuga, lugal Amnanum, ua Ê-ana. Ud Ê-ana mudua, Ê-kankal, Ê

REVERSE.

15. *bû(?) še-gur-ta,*
16. *gu-mîn ma-na sig-ta,*
17. *gu ma-na un-ta,*
18. *as s'Lyîš-ta*
19. *ki-tam-ma da-na-ka*
20. *guškin gi ge-e*
21. *gi-ip-da-zig*
22. *mu-a-ni nu-gi-gal-la*
23. *gi-a.*
24. *Gab-ri na-ru-a ša ūšî,*
25. *ša-ga Ê-zûla, Nabû-balât-su-ik-bî,*
26. *abil Mi-sîr-a-a ištur.*

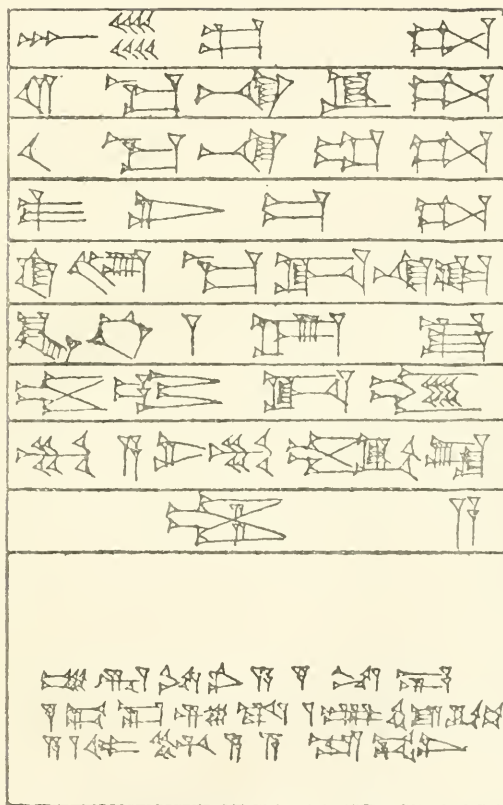
WORD-FOR-WORD

TRANSLATION.

Lugal-banda god his to, Ningul mother his to, Sin-gasîd, king of Erech, king of Amnanum, nourisher] of Ê-ana. When Ê-ana he built. Ê-

SIN-GAŠID'S GIFT TO THE TEMPLE É-ANA.

REVERSE.



kitur ša-ġulakane, munendu. Bala
namlugalukani, bā segur-ta ġumin
mana šig ta, ġu mana unta, aš
salġiš-ta, k'lama-danaka, guškin
ġi go'e ġ'pdazig, muani mu ġigala
ġia.

Gabri narua ša ūši, šaga Ê-zida, Nabû-
balātsu-iġbi, abil Miširāa, ištur.

kankal, the house] the seat of heart-joy his he
made it. During] [omission his, 30 wheat meas-
ure with, 12] mana wool with, 10 mana produce
with, an as] of oil with, the tariff according to(?)
gold] one shekel, let him endow, his year a year
of plenty] may) be.

Copy of the tablet of ūšû-stone, the property of
Ê-zida, (which)] Nabû-balātsu-iġbi, son of
Miširāa, has written.

FREE TRANSLATION.

Sin-ġašid, king of Erech, king of Ammanu, and patron of Ê-ana, to Lugal-banda his god and Nin-ġul his goddess. When he built Ê-ana, he erected Ê-kankal, the house which is the seat of the joy of his heart. During his dominion, he will endow it with 30 measures of wheat, 12 mana of wool, 10 mana of produce, an as of oil according to (?) the tariff, and one shekel of gold. May his years be years of plenty.

Copy of the tablet of ūšû-stone, the property of Ê-zida, which Nabû-balātsu-iġbi, son of the Egyptian, has written.

As will be seen from the above translation, Sin-ġašid begins with an invocation to Lugal-banda and his consort Nin-ġul, who were his patron god and goddess. He then speaks of Ê-ana, one of the great temples of Erech, (which seems to have been Sin-ġašid's capital), and Ê-kankal, probably one of the shrines in the temple Ê-ana. Judging from the wording, he seems to claim to be the founder of both these fanes, though he probably only rebuilt them. Sin-ġašid then gives a list of the amounts of produce, &c, with which he had endowed the shrine, and ends with a pious wish for his country. The date of the original inscription was most likely about 2600 years before Christ. The copy which has come down to us probably dates from the time of the antiquarian revival in Babylonia during the reign of Nabonidus.

The invocation may be regarded as extending as far as line 8, and presents many points of interest. The first fact to be noted is

that it is to *Lugal-bawlti* and a goddess, his consort, whose name I read provisionally *Nin-ġul*. The reading of this latter name is partly based upon the passage in Vol. II. of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, pl. 59, ll. 4 & 25, where the characters *Nin-ġul* (col. ii.) are followed in col. iii. by the words. *āšsati-ša, zinništu*, "his consort, female," which are a literal translation of the common Akkadian phrase *dama-bi, sal*, and refer to the name *Lugal-banda* in the line above. This identification of Ningul as the consort of Lugal-banda is important, as it shows that Sin-ġašid, who calls her his "mother," did not mean to imply that she was his real earthly parent, but that he simply traced his descent from her, thus asserting his divine origin. Geo. Smith's double-queriel "Belat-sunat" (as he transcribed the name of this goddess), "the earliest known queen in the Euphrates valley" must therefore be erased from the list of historical rulers in Erech.¹

1) With regard to the readings of these two divine names, it must be noted that they are both more or less doubtful. In transcribing them, I have simply given the usual values of the characters of which they are composed. As, however, the dialectic forms of these names seem to be *Umun-banda* or *Ūn-banda* and *Umun-ġul* or *Ūn-ġul* respectively, the Akkadian or non-dialectic pronunciation of the former was probably *Ugum-banda* or *Ūn-banla*, and of the latter *Uyum-ġul* or *Ūn-ġul* or *Ê-ġul*. The meaning of *Lugal-banda* or *Ugun-banda* is "powerful king," or "king of youthful strength."

The next interesting point is the titles of Sin-gašid, which are "king of Unuga, king of Amnanu, and patron of Ê-ana." As we know from pl. 23 of Vol. V. of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Unug is the Akkadian form of the Semitic Babylonian or Assyrian *Uruk*, the Erech of the Bible, now called Warka by the Arabs. In this most interesting word, all the Semitic forms show *r* for the Akkadian *u*, and *k* for the Akkadian *g*. In our text the determinative suffix denoting the name of a place comes between the ideograph *Unug* and the phonetic complement *ga*. Amnanum or Amnanu was possibly the district in which Erech was situated.² Ê-ana ("the house of heaven") was the principal temple of the city of Erech, and Êkankal ("the house of the sanctuary"?) was probably the name of one of the shrines within it. It is not unlikely that the Ê-kankal here mentioned is the same as, or the fellow-shrine to the Ê-ġili-ana mentioned by Aššur-bani-apli as the sanctuary, apparently in or connected with Ê-ana, to which he restored the image of the goddess Nanā, which was carried off by the king of Elam, Kudur-nanġundi, about 2280 years before Christ. As the passage is interesting, I give it here in full:—

"For 1635 years had the goddess Nanā been angry, had gone, and had dwelt within Elam, which was not her proper place; and in those days she and the gods her fathers proclaimed my name to the dominion of the world. She entrusted to me the return of her divinity thus: 'Aššur-bani-apli shall bring me out of the midst of wicked Elam, and shall cause me to enter within Ê-ana.' The words of the command of her divinity, which she had spoken from remote days, she again revealed to the later people. I grasped the hand of her great divinity, and she took the straight

road, with joy of heart, to Ê-ana. In the month Kislev, on the first day, I caused her to enter Erech, and in Ê-ġili-ana, which she loves, I caused an everlasting shrine to be founded for her."³

As the date of Sin-gašid is doubtful, it is impossible to say whether the capture of the image of Nanā took place before or after his reign, but it was probably after.

After the invocation, which may be regarded as ending with line 8, Sin-gašid refers to the restorations which he had made at Ê-ana, and in Ê-kankal, "the house of the seat of his heart-joy." Here may be noted that the scribe has not written *ša-ġullane* "his heart-joy," but *ša-gullakane*, with the ending *g* of *ġullag* not only retained, but even hardened to *k*. This fact may be regarded as bespeaking a rather early date for the composition of the inscription, for in most inscriptions this final *g* or *k* has entirely disappeared. The last line of the obverse shows also the same retention of the final consonant in the word *namlugalakani*, "his dominion."

The list of objects or produce given by Sin-gašid presents some few difficulties. The three horizontal wedges before the sign *še*⁴ "wheat" in the first line of the reverse I have transcribed as "30" because "3" seemed to be too small an amount for the gift of a king. If, however, my rendering be right (as is very probable), this form of the numeral will throw some light on those interesting but puzzling half discs used evidently as numerals in the archaic inscriptions from Sippara of the Sun-god. In the third line I have transcribed the last character but one as *um*, and translated it "produce," regarding it as an early phonetic writing of the character *u* which is translated into Semitic Babylonian as *umu*, meaning "green herbs" (W.A.I., V., pl. 27. 156). The character in the inscription now under ex-

2) Šamaš-šum-ukin or Saosduchinos, brother of Assurbanipal, also calls himself king of Amnanu.

3) There is hardly any doubt that Nanā of Erech is the same as the goddess Ištar, and Lugal-banda, her consort, is therefore, the same as Dumu-zi, "the son of life," Tammuz or Adonis.

4) The line-form of the character *še* shows an *ear* of corn.

amination may, however, have had a more restricted meaning. In addition to the above, the translation of the three characters following *kilama* in the fifth line of the reverse is doubtful.

Turning to the expressions in the list of which the translations are more certain, the following remarks may serve to elucidate a few points. The group *ni-ir* (line 4, reverse): I have in this case thought it best to transcribe *zal-giš* "oil of wood" = "vegetable oil," rather than *kisal* (= *gš-zal⁵*), "wood of oil" = altar," on account of the sense here required. One of the most interesting signs is the character *zig*, at the end of the 7th line of the reverse. This character, which I have translated by "endow," is formed of *še* "wheat" (see the second character of the first line of the reverse) within the sign *gur* (*nindu*) (in Assyrian *namanda*) meaning "measure" — in fact, by turning the character round so that the right-hand end is at the bottom, a very good figure of a corn-measure is obtained. In the verbal form *gipdazig* "may he with endow," the presence of the infix *-da-* "with" seems to have made the repetition of the suffix *-tā* (rev., lines 1-4) after *g'e* "shekel" (l. 6) needless. With regard to the two characters transcribed as *ji* (ll. 8 & 9), the extra wedges in the latter have been inserted by the scribe simply because he had more room to put them than in the case of the character in the foregoing line.

The colophon added by the scribe who copied the text enables us to guess what may have been the kind of stone upon which the original was written. As this colophon is in

Semitic Babylonian or Assyrian, the Semitic word-forms of the ideographs have been inserted in the transcription, and for this reason the two end-characters of the first line of the colophon (the sign for "stone", *na*, and the sign for "precious," *kala*) have been transcribed by the word *ušū*. Now this *ušū*,⁶ (the Akkadian form of which is *esi*), is used also to denote some precious wood (the group used is *gš* "wood" and *kila* "precious"), and the early translators, when they met with the word in the inscriptions, sometimes gave, as a conjecture, the translation "ebony." If this conjecture be correct, it is not unlikely that *ušū* designates some such stone as black basalt.

The inscription here translated and commented on is a duplicate of one published in Vol. IV. of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, pl. 35, No. 3, from two cones from Warka. This text, which is rather roughly written, gives the reading *ša-gul'akanne*, "their heart-joy" for *sa-gullakane* (l. 2, obv.), and has the sign denoting a precious metal (*ku* or *azag*, the first character of l. 6, rev.) between the characters *gi* and *e* (*g'e* "shekel") at the end of l. 6. This additional character is apparently a kind of determinative suffix inserted (like *ki* between *Unug* and *ga* in l. 6 of the obv.) between the word and its lengthening. It possibly denotes that the weight here meant was the shekel specially used for precious metals. A tentative rendering of the text published in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* was given by the late Geo. Smith in his "Early history of Babylonia." THEO. G. PINCHES.

5) Bezold, *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, Vol. ii. p. 71.

6) The form *išū* or *ēšū* also occurs.

THE PLAGUE LEGENDS OF CHALDEA.

IN a thickly populated land like ancient Babylonia, its cities teeming with all the varied elements of Oriental life that war and commerce had brought thither, and with an ever ebbing and flowing tide of humanity through its marts and highways, it is only natural to suppose that epidemics, as at the present time, broke out there, and the plague demon inflicted his scourge on the land. The sword, pestilence and famine, were the alter-

native punishments offered to David for his sin in numbering the people (2 Sam. xxiv. 13); they formed also a trinity in the four dire disasters threatened to fall upon Jerusalem (Ezek. xiv. 13, 21); and throughout Hebrew, Greek, Roman and Mohammedan chronicles, and even to the present day, the records of the visitations of plague and pestilence in Syria and the Tigro-Euphrates valley are almost continuous.

The plague, in its various forms, has ever been regarded in the East as a demon who makes war upon mankind. The dread trinity of destruction, the sword, the pestilence, and famine, is one common to most of the oriental mythologies.

Among the legends gathered from the Assyrian Inscriptions are some very poetic tales relating to this god of pestilence, and they appear, like the Gisdhubar legends, to have formed part of an ancient epic poem, consisting of at least six tablets, which was called the "Story of Dibbara." The name of this ancient deity is evidently of Semitic origin, and may be compared with the Hebrew *Deber*, "plague or death," which Gesenius derives from a root meaning to destroy or plot against, comparing it with the Arabic *Dabr*, "destruction." The root, however, occurs in Assyrian with the sense of "to sting, to bite with venom," and from this we get the derivation of the plague as "the sting of the grave," and also of the name of Deborah, "the bee—the female stinger." The god Dibbara in the legends is another form of the war-god Nergal or Aria, who is also termed the "lion-headed" god of death, whose chief epithet was that of *Dakhihe*, "the trampler" or "crusher." The seat of worship of this direful trinity, which consisted of Aria or Nergal, Dibbara, and the goddess Laz, the goddess of famine, was the city of Kutba, now marked by the mounds of Tel-Ibrahim. This city was the great necropolis of Chaldea, and at the present day the remains of tombs are scattered for miles round the central mound. The ancient name of the city in the Accadian was Gudu, from which the Semitic form Kutu, the Cutha of the Scriptures, was derived, this being the phonetic reading of a compound name which meant "the city of the bowing down of the head," a most fit and appropriate name for the great Necropolis.

It is with this city Cutha that the legends of the plague-god are closely connected. The tablets on which those legends are written (K 1282 and M 55) come from the library at Nineveh, and are copies of tablets in the library

at Kutu, made by order of Assur-bani-pal. Although written in the form of an epic poem, like the legends of Gisdhubar, they appear to have some historical basis, such as the sweeping of the land in remote days by a great pestilence. As in the case of the Deluge, so in this; the plague or visitation of the god Dibbara was a punishment for sin apparently against the god Bel. The legend, therefore, begins by stating the command of the Gods to Dibbara to go and destroy the wicked: "Dibbara opened his mouth and said, I cry unto all of you [people]; I will drive away the former sin, for in my heart I am enraged ... Like a flock of sheep may they flee. Like the spoiler of cultivated land and pasture land, [may I sweep]. In the mouth even of a dog reputation may they not have."

The close connection between the pestilence-god and the war-god is shewn in this poem by the narrative assuming the form of the description of a war or campaign by Dibbara against his enemies, and the phraseology is of a military character. Thus at the conclusion of the fifth tablet we read: "One shall slay seven. All his cities turn thou to ruin and heaps; his great spoil thou shalt carry away as spoil from the midst, and all the productions of the countries thou shalt seize."

In another part of this tablet a most curious phrase occurs, which affords a valuable illustration of the Hebrew idea of the pestilence; we read: "In the beginning of the night I sent him." He is also called "the chastising sword." We have here a close parallel to the passage in the Psalms (xci. 6): "The pestilence that walketh in darkness," while the latter epithet reminds us of the drawn sword the Angel held over Jerusalem during the three days' pestilence, (2 Sam. xxiv. 16). The larger fragment of these legends (M 55) abounds in orientalisms, and it is sufficiently well preserved to be translatable fully in parts:—

Dibbara couches in the great gate on the
body of noble and slave;

There he has fixed his seat.

The men of Babylon, even they themselves,

are shut in.

Their curse thou art.

Thou throwest down, dust thou makest,

Oh, warrior Dibbara!

Thou departest not [when] thou goest to another place.

Gnawing as a dog thou makest, and the palace thou enterest.

They shall see thee, and throw away their arms.

The high-priest of Babylon, the enticer to evil, hardens his heart.

Go to that city whither I shall send thee, Reverence no man—fear not a soul.

The host of the king is gathered, and entereth the city.

Drawing the bow and piercing with the sword,

The host of the bound ones he cuts down.

Their weapons thou breakest.

Their corpses, into the streets like the down-pour of rain, thou hast cast.

Their store-houses thou openest, and sweep-est [the food] into the river.

This extract abounds in fine similes indicating the poetic character of the work. One of the most quaint metaphors, perhaps, is that the pestilence departs not, when it goes to another place—an evidently poetical phrase for the spread of the infection, which does not leave one city to pass to another.

In the second column of the same tablet we have a most valuable reference to the cultus of the city of Erech, one of the cities of Nimrod, and the chief seat of the worship of Istar. The pestilence now passes to—

Erech the dwelling of Anu and Istar,

The city of the handmaidens Samkhat and¹ Kharimat, companions of Istar.

Death they fear, and are delivered into my hands.

They are slain. In the temple of Anu, the priests the sacrifice-makers,

Who to deceive the people of Istar their manhood have turned away:

Carrying swords, scrapers, *dups* and knives, who hoped to make glad the heart of Istar.

But, O fierce high priest! the bowing down of the face over them thou shalt make.

Their foundations and shrines I sweep away.

Istar cried out with rage, and was grieved over the city.

It is evident that the writer of this poem was one who was opposed to the peculiar worship of Istar, the mother-goddess, which was the same as that practised throughout all Western Asia. This consisted in the service of the temple by emasculated priests. From a passage in the last column of the Text, in which the writer speaks of the glory that shall come to the city of Akkad after the pestilence has visited all the surrounding lands, and especially Babylon and Erech, cities of the south, it is probable that he was an Akkadian, or North Babylonian, who was opposed to the southern cities of Chaldea.

If this is proved to be the case, as there is strong reason to suppose, we have a curious parallel to the feud between Israel and Judah so apparent in Hebrew literature.

The dread god now passes on from city to city. The city of Duran "streamed with blood—the people who dwell within it shake even as the reeds." The small portion which remains of the third column gives us an account of the city of Kutu or Cuth, wherein was the temple of the god of Death and Pestilence.

Short as this passage is, it very valuable as illustrating the eschatology of Chaldea:—

O warrior Dibbara the established in Kuta, and the unestablished in Kuta,

Those who sin against thee, and those who do not sin against thee,

All fear thee.

This extract illustrates a belief current in Chaldea that Cutha was the abode of a dual population of the living and the dead.

It was in this city that the great miracle-play of the descent of Istar into Hades was performed, and the description of the underworld there given is that of a ruined deserted

¹) Two deifications of Pleasure and the Devotee—who accompany Istar the goddess of Love as her constant attendants in all her adventures

city. The palace, dark and dreary, peopled by disembodied souls clad in birdlike robes of feathers flitting to and fro, feeding on mud and dust, and shunning the light of day—this was the abode of the trinity of death, Dibbara, Aria and Laz or Nin-Kigal. In these legends Dibbara has a friend and companion who advises him, as Heabani was the mentor of Gisdhubar. This companion is *Isur*, “the burner, or fire.” He is rather to be regarded as the hot fever-demon than the fire-god, and his epithet of “the street traverser” is applicable to him as the god of fever. This companion of the plague-demon who is said

to come from the land of Khikhi, an ancient name of the desert of the south-west, is probably to be identified with the demon of the south-west wind. This wind, which blew from the hot deserts of Arabia across the marshes and lagoons of the Persian gulf, came to the land laden with death. There is in the Louvre a remarkable statue of this demon represented as having four wings, the body of a man with the claw-like feet of a gryphon and the head, a half-decayed parched skull. Special invocations against this demon, the “burner,” as he is called, are found in the legends and magical tablets.

B. W.

[The foregoing paper does not profess to treat the subject from a scientific point of view; hence the omission of certain lines, and the freeness of the translation.]



REVIEWS.

DÉCOUVERTES EN CHALDÉE. Par Ernest de Sarzec. Part i. Paris, 1884, &c., fol. Leroux.

THIS splendid work describes the explorations undertaken by M. de Sarzec, the French consul at Bussorah, which have resulted in the discovery of a series of monuments of Ancient Chaldea, for his Government, unequalled by any other collection. The statues and carved objects show the astonishing progress which Chaldean art had attained at a very early period, and present a remarkable likeness to the work of the earliest dynasties of Egypt. Indeed the resemblance between the green diorite statues of Gudea, the patesi of Zergul or Lagas, the site of which is marked by the mounds of Tel-Lo, and the famous diorite statue of Kephren, is very striking.

In the work before us, the results of the explorations carried out by M. de Sarzec are illustrated in the most lavish style. The reproduction of the long inscription upon the large statue of the king Gudea, by the process of heliogravure, is most perfect, the form of

every character being clearly shewn. This inscription, over three hundred lines in length, is the longest text in the Sumero-Akkadian dialects which has been preserved to us, and contains matter of the greatest value to the historian and philologist. The translation of portions of these inscriptions recently published by M. Amiand in the *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, shews that at the time when this document was written, B.C. 2500, there was an intercourse of trade between the South of Chaldea and the region of the Sinitic peninsula. There is mention also of wars and campaigns in the land of Ansan in Elam, a land of the greatest importance in the history of Western Asiatic civilization, a region which was no doubt the cradle of the Elamite civilization. One of the most interesting objects here represented is a twelve sided cylinder, bearing a long inscription of Gudea, partly duplicate of the text upon the statue but which is especially interesting as shewing that the cylinder, so extensively used by the Assyrians and the later Babylonians, was also in use in Chaldea in the earliest times.

The great care which has been expended by the artist on the carving of the statues, notably on the fine head of red porphyry, has preserved to us a very valuable representation of the ancient human features. It is to be hoped that the success of M de Sarzec's work will encourage others to undertake explorations in Chaldea.

GUIDE to the Antiquities in the NIMROUD CENTRAL SALOON, British Museum. *Published by the Trustees.* London, 1886.

In this little work Mr Pinches continues the description of Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum, which he commenced in his former guide to the Koyunjik gallery. The rapidly increasing interest in Assyrian and Babylonian archaeology has rendered the publication of a more detailed guide than that embodied in the "General Guide to the Collections in the British Museum" necessary, and the work which Mr Pinches has prepared will be welcomed by students, as well as the general public, as supplying a long felt want. The antiquities in the Central Saloon have chiefly been obtained by Sir Austen H. Layard during his explorations in the mound of Nimroud, the site of the ancient city of Calah, the capital of the middle Assyrian empire; to these have been added the antiquities obtained from this site, and in the neighbouring mound of Ballawat. In addition, there are now arranged in this saloon a very important series of Babylonian antiquities, chiefly the results of Mr Rassam's explorations at Aboo-Hubba, the ancient Sippara, and in the ruins of Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha. The author has divided his work into two parts. The first portion is descriptive of the objects from Assyria, and the second and larger part, of those from Chaldea.

In the work now before us, there are to be noticed several improvements on the former guides, such as the introduction of translations of the most important inscriptions; among others, the standard inscription of Assur-nasir-ahla, (B.C. 885), the inscription on the four statues of the god Nebo dedicated by the prefect Bel-tarsi-ili, for the preservation of the lives of Rimmanu-nirari, and his queen Samuramat, &c. In the Babylonian section, the

very full translations given of legal, contract, and other tablets, afford the visitor to the gallery an insight into Chaldean life and manners, such as could not otherwise be obtained without very extensive reading.

In the Assyrian portion the author has allowed a mistake to appear which we hope to see corrected in the next edition. The identification of the region of SA-IMIRI-SU with Samaria certainly cannot be proved, and has the effect of making Benhadad and Hazael appear as Israelite kings. It can be no other than Damascus. In the analysis of the Black Obelisk, also, the geographical details are not as clear as they might be made. For example, the author has failed to recognise the Sukhai as the Shubites of the Book of Job, (viii. 1), or the land of the Patinai as the Batenea of the classics.

In the Babylonian section, Mr Pinches displays his well-known mastery of the difficulties of the literature of the Southern empire. From the inscriptions exhibited and described, we are now able to understand very clearly the remarkably popular character of the literature of Chaldea, and the extensive patronage it received from all classes. In Assyria literature was essentially a product of the state, all the libraries were royal libraries, and all the works bore the ascription of the king. In Chaldea the support of the art of letters extended to the lowest ranks, and we find even workmen, gardeners and irrigators dedicating tablet-books to the temple libraries.

From the large number of legal and contract tablets, there is much valuable information as to the commercial and social life of Babylon from the sixth to the first century before the Christian era.

L'INCORPORATION VERBALE EN ACCADIEN, par G. BERTIN. Reprinted from the *Revue d'assyriologie et archéologie orientale*, vol. i., Nos. 3 & 4. Paris, 1886.

This work consists of two articles published in the "Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale," in which Mr Bertin treats in a very detailed manner of one of the most important, and at the same time most complicated, sections of Akkadian grammar. In the analysis of the various forms the author shews very clearly the agglutinative character of the language.

E.A.

Another value for the character *kat* or *kud* (Sayce, *Gram. Syllabary*, No. 21; Pinches, *Texts*, Signlist, No. 18) is *tal* or *dad*. These values are used not unfrequently in late-Babylonian texts. The value *dad* is found in the word *imaddad*, and the root *madādu*, in the texts in question, seems not to have the meaning of "to measure," but "to commit" (a crime).

T.G.P.

A paper entitled "*The Erechite's lament over the Desolation of his Fatherland*," is unavoidably postponed till next month for want of space.

* * *

It is difficult to give in a short space all the details of the Orientalist Congress, which took place at Vienna, and lasted from September 27th to October 2nd. The gathering was, however, highly successful, and the papers were of great value and interest. We can do but little more here than note the more important. Dr C. Bezold, of Munich, read some remarks upon his "Prolegomena to an Assyrian Grammar;" Mr. S. A. Smith (U.S.A.) gave a new and thoroughly revised translation of the principal inscription of Assurbanipal (Cylinder A), and the Rev. J. N. Strassmaier, S.J., made a statement on the inscriptions of Nabonidus which he has recently copied. Prof. J. Oppert also treated of some of the so-called juridical texts, dating from about 2500 B.C. One of the most valuable communications, however, was an explanation by the Rev. W. H. Hechler, Chaplain to the British Embassy at Vienna, of his Chart of Biblical Chronology, extending from the death of Solomon to the close of Old Testament history. The author, who has been engaged on this work for the last sixteen years, has incorporated all the latest researches of Assyriologists and others, referring to the formerly unknown kings of Babylon, Assyria, and Egypt. This communication was made first in English, and afterwards in German. The lecturer also showed some of the oldest inscriptions known, these being of the time of Gudea, 2500 or 2700 years B.C. They had recently reached him from the ruins known as Tel Loh in

South Babylonia, the site of the ancient Lagaš. Prof. Hommel, of Munich, joined in the discussion, and promised an accurate description for the Congress, of these old Babylonian records. These texts are of great importance and one of them refers to a city, the name of which is written with the same ideographs as that of the city Nineveh, by which name it may also have been called. Prof. Hommel, however, reads the name as *ghanna ki* (= *ḡanna ki*), seemingly on account of the sign *ḡa* (ḡa) within. It is said to be likely that the Rev. W. H. Hechler's historical chart will be introduced into the Austrian schools. Dr Jeremias spoke of the important Assyrian dictionary now being compiled by Prof. Fried Delitzsch, who has been working upon it in London for the last three weeks, and studying the many documents of the British Museum.

The next Congress of Orientalists, which will take place in two years time, will be held at Stockholm.

As we are going to press, we receive the prospectus of Dr F. Delitzsch's "Assyrisches Wörterbuch," and as this work will doubtless prove of great value to scholars, copies of the prospectus accompany this number of the "Record"

* * *

Will a contributor give the history of the Akkadian decipherment and the cryptographic hypothesis, and explain how the two now stand?

What are the various epithets given to the languages in cuneiform inscriptions, as "tongue of slaves," "of women," &c.?

Is the forgery of Assyro-Babylonian clay tablets still going on? And by what means can a false tablet be detected?

What was probably the true pronunciation of the consonant transcribed by the older school of Assyriologists as *v* or *m*, and by the younger school as *m*?

Special attention is drawn to the section "Queries," as by means of this monthly medium a great many interesting questions, obscure, probably, simply because attention has not been drawn to them, may be elucidated.

[Edit.]

THE
BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

The Editorial Committee is not responsible for the opinions or statements of the Contributors.

"THE BURNING FIERY FURNACE."

WHEN the first Cuneiform Inscriptions were deciphered, it was predicted that the Assyriological researches would throw a new light on many passages of the Bible. No prediction has been so well fulfilled; for many statements contained in the Old Testament have already been confirmed, and many obscure points elucidated. But much more still remains to be done; and the cuneiform texts might explain things which are even now enigmatic or unsatisfactorily interpreted.

The book of Daniel,¹ for instance, tells us how the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar threatened to cast into the "burning fiery furnace," Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, on their refusal to worship the golden image set up on the plain of Dura, and how, on seeing the three young Jews persisting in their refusal, he commanded that the furnace be heated "seven times more than it was wont to be heated."

According to some eastern traditions, this is not the only instance of a Babylonian king having cast into the furnace those who refused to worship his idols. In the Koran Abraham is said to have been treated in the same way for having destroyed the Babylonian idols.²

What were these furnaces always burning? and why was this punishment chosen in preference to any other?

To these two questions answers may be

found in Babylonian customs, of which we were ignorant, but which have now been revealed by the Assyriological discoveries and cuneiform studies. One of these customs was the burning of the dead—what we call *cremation*. This was so unexpected, and the idea of a Semitic population disposing of their dead by annihilating them by fire, was so adverse to all that was accepted, that it was at first rejected. George Smith was the first, I believe, who admitted the possibility of such a custom; but, even with a clear text before him, he did so timidly. The text published by him³ is a fragment of the Babylonian royal Canon, which gave the list of all the kings, with the length of their reigns, and, in some instances, a few remarks about them; in the case of Simmaš-šihu, it is stated that "he was burned in the palace of Sar-gina."


The text of the tablet is written principally in ideograms, and by means of Akkadian words and even verbal forms; but the whole is to be read in Semitic Babylonian, the Akkadian words and verbal forms being considered as ideographic groups, as happens often in more modern texts, even in private contract tablets. If there were any doubt as to the text having to be read in Semitic Babylonian, it would be removed by the presence in it of prepositions, and not postpositives, as Akkadian would require, and of few Semitic




1) Dan. iii.

2) This legend has been rejected as apocryphal by most Orientalists, no doubt because it is not mentioned in the Bible, and it is said to have arisen from a mis translation. But the legend is also accepted by the Syrian Christians, (See Sale's *Al Koran*, pp. 245 & 246.)

3) Transl. of the S. B. A., vol. iii, p. 371.

words phonetically written.

The passage referred to above runs thus : *Ina e-kal Sav-gina ki-bir*,⁴ "he was burned in the palace of Sargina. The tablet contains three other similar statements, in which *ki-bir* must be equally translated by "was burned." This word is written phonetically , *ki-bir*, and is very likely of pure Semitic origin. It must be acknowledged, however, that in the other Semitic tongues the corresponding words have the meaning of *to inter*, like the Arabic كَبَّرَ, and the Hebrew קָבַר, but we must only see in these different adaptations of the word the consequence of its being taken to mean "to dispose of the dead," without reference to the manner in which it was carried out.

The ideograph , which is to be read *ki-bir*, leaves no doubt as to the meaning "to burn." It is explained in a syllabary⁵ by *kilitu*, a "burning;" in another syllabary⁶ the pronunciation *ki-bir* and *gibil* is given in the first column, the former being the dialectical or Sumerian, and the latter the Akkadian, forms of the word; but as noticed by Geo. Smith, it is also used in Assyrian under the form of *kibiru*.⁷ With the prefix of wood, the same sign, , is given as the ideographic name of several kinds of woods—used in funerals, no doubt, to burn the dead—and is translated in Assyrian by *kibirru* and *makkadu*; glosses in the non-Semitic column give the pronunciation *kibir* in the first case, and *giskibir* in the other. Another syllabary gives also *gibil* as one of the Akkadian readings of , with the Assyrian

explanation *kalu*, "to burn." In other cases this sign is explained by "fire" and "flame."⁸ There is, therefore, very little doubt as to *ki-bir* meaning "to burn."*

How we find this Semitic word, meaning primitively "to bury," used by the Akkadians and Babylonians in their respective languages with the meaning of "to burn the dead," is simple to explain. The early Semites probably used to bury their dead, as was customary among their kindred of Syria and Arabia. When the Akkadians invaded Mesopotamia, they introduced their custom of burning the dead; but in consequence of the intercourse of every day life, their borrowing the Semitic word for burial gave it naturally the meaning carried by their own way of disposing of their dead. The Babylonians having adopted, to a great extent, the religion and customs of the conquerors, accepted also the new meaning given to their word for "to bury," which came then to mean "to burn."

Another fact which supports the argument in favour of the existence of this custom among the Babylonians and Assyrians is, that nowhere in Mesopotamia do we find tombs which might be assigned to them.

Sir H. Layard noticed that all the funereal remains are found in the mounds formed by the ruins, but over the palaces or temples, leaving no doubt as to their having been placed there after the destruction of the monuments. Some tombs contained sarcophagi, but these are undoubtedly Parthian; others contained small stone cases or large clay vases, and belong no doubt to the Sas-

4) Transl. of the S. B. A., vol. iii. p. 374.

5) W. A. I. II. iv. 655.

6) *ibid.* III. lxx. 195 & 196.

7) S. B. A. p. 740.

8) Prof. Sayce's Syllabary, No. 244.

* The reason why the word *kibir* is in the syllabary generally found in the non-Semitic column is easy to explain. At the time of the Semitic renaissance, when the syllabaries were written, the Babylonian grammarians, or rather commentators, not being able to connect the word *kibir*, "to burn," with any Semitic root of kindred meaning, and having no idea that the word meaning primitively "to bury," had changed its meaning into "to burn" with the change of custom, took it to be of Akkadian origin.

sanian period⁹: while the clay vases containing half-charred bones must be assigned to the Greek period. None of these funereal monuments bear any inscription. This fact alone excludes all idea of their being Assyrian or Babylonian; for, among people having such a high esteem for literary works, the funereal monuments would certainly be covered with inscriptions.

But how are we to explain that the Babylonians have left no trace of their funereal customs in monuments? It can be explained in two ways. They may have had a custom similar to that of the Brahminic population of India, who throw the ashes of their burnt relatives into the river Ganges, believing that these ashes are carried up the river to the land of the Blessed; the Babylonians, if they had the same idea, would have thrown the ashes into the Tigris or Euphrates, as they thought that the land of the Blessed was at the mouth of these two rivers.¹⁰ The other explanation is that the Babylonians, having for their object the annihilation of the body, would leave the corpse in the crematorium till it was entirely consumed, and would not gather any remains. They had, no doubt, in every city a special furnace kept always burning, to consume the corpses as soon as life was extinct.

We are not, therefore, surprised to see the Babylonian king threatening to cast the young Jews into the furnace which was kept always burning, as implied by his order that it should be heated seven times more than usual.

The Babylonians had, no doubt, a special

reason for choosing this strange way of annihilating those they considered as impious. There was certainly a mystic idea in their mind as to consumption by fire.

Cremation has been advocated in our own time on sanitary grounds. Its partisans argue that the living must be thought of before the dead, and that the corpses being reduced to ashes all danger of spreading disease is avoided. The Babylonians appear, indeed, to have been the precursors of our modern cremationists; fire was in their eyes the great purifier morally as well as physically.

This character of purifier is well illustrated by a bilingual incantation preserved in a tablet now in the British Museum¹¹; the poet addresses the Fire as a god, calling him by his Akkadian name *gibil*. The Assyrian translation leaves this name untranslated, but as we have seen *gibil* is the Akkadian form of the Semitic *kibir*, it therefore is the burner or god of burning, and the same word as that used to describe the burning of the dead.

The incantation runs as follows :—

O god Gibil! great prince who risest over the land;

Warrior son of the abyss, who risest over the land;

O Gibil! thou bringest light with thy fire;
Thou makest bright the house of darkness;
Thou fixest the destiny of every thing which has a name;

Thou art the improver of copper with lead;¹²
Thou art the polisher† of silver and gold;
Thou art the companion of the goddess Ninkasi;

Thou art the one who hast power to turn the breast of the wicked;

9) See Layard's *Nineveh*, popular edition.

10) Transl. of the S. B. A. vol. iii. 567.

11) W. A. I. IV. xiv. No. 2.

12) That is, 'the maker of bronze.' The Assyrian transl. is 'the mixer of copper & lead.'

† Literally, 'the one who makes silver and gold shine.'

13) It is difficult to say if in the last 3 lines, the child of God, i. e., 'the rightful man,' or the god himself, is meant. This incantation has been translated by Dr Oppert, M. Lenormant, and many others. It is not thought necessary, therefore, to give the text and the transliteration here. The Assyrian is not always the exact rendering of the Akkadian; for instance, the Assyrian scribe writes: 'in the middle of the sky,' no doubt to avoid repeating the same line as the last but two.

Mayest thou make shine the limbs of the child
 May he shine like the sky! [of God!
 May he shine like the earth!
 May he shine like the sky! 13

It is evident from this incantation that fire was considered as the purifier and the improver morally as well as physically. The annihilation of the body by fire had, therefore, for its object the purification and the improvement of the soul; by burning the body the soul, which always had a kind of attraction for its material envelope, even after death, was delivered from the burden of its corpse and broken from all material connexion.

This purification is also very apparent in the Babylonian religious poetry. The material evil, that is disease, and the moral evil, that is sin, was, according to the Babylonian, always the work of some evil spirit, called *Utuk*, *Gallu*, &c. When a Babylonian was ill, or when he thought he was in a state of sin, it was practically the same as to be possessed by some evil spirits; to be cured physically or morally he had to drive away the evil spirits by means of incantations or charms. For that purpose the supplicant went into the temple, and standing before the blazing altar, he recited the incantation. He held in his hand pieces of ribbon, of cloth, of thread, seed or other objects, and assuming that the evil spirits had passed from his body into them, he threw them into the fire one by one, saying :

"May he be burned like this reed! may he be consumed like this cloth! &c."

A tablet,¹⁴ now in the British Museum, contains a collection of incantations of this kind. The text is written in Semitic Babylonian, but with such a profusion of ideograms and Akkadian expressions used ideographically, that lines now and then might be taken for Akkadian. The order of the words alone shows that we have a Semitic text; the reason is no doubt that we have in it a piece of the

ritual translated from Akkadian; but as it was to be recited by the laic supplicant, the Akkadian is not given. Akkadian was, it is to be remembered, like Latin for the Roman Church, the religious language. The scribe who made the translation, however, wishing no doubt to preserve as much as possible the character of the original, transcribed the Akkadian ideograms, to be read then as Semitic words,

Like this plant he is cut, and, in the fire
 Of the consuming god Gibil, he is burnt;
 It shall grow no more in the furrows;
 It shall not be placed in a pot or in a vase;
 It shall not take its food from the ground;
 Its seed shall not come up, and the sun shall
 not shine on it;

It shall not be taken to adorn the god or the king, &c.

And the supplicant adds :

The sickness is in my body, in my flesh, in my veins.

Like this plant may it be cut;

In the fire of the god Gibil may it be burnt;

May the plague go out, and myself may I see the light!

In other words: May the evil spirits which cause my disease be destroyed, and may I be purified.¹⁵

The object of the Babylonians in casting the Jews into the furnace was, therefore, to purify them, that is, to send away from their bodies the evil spirits who possessed them and made them, from the Babylonian point of view, blaspheme the gods,

Many years ago I suggested that the custom of burning the dead had been imported into Greece from Mesopotamia through Asia Minor.¹⁶ If such is the case, we must find among the Greeks a religious conception, similar to that of the Babylonians, concerning the practice, for a custom is always the expression of a certain view, as the burning of the dead grew among the Akkadians from the mystic

14) W. A. I., IV, 7.

15) As my object is not to give a philological interpretation of the text, which, on account of its ideographic character, would require a great development, and would extend too long, I only give the translation of one passage as an illustration. It has also been translated and published by M. Lenormant.

16) *The Antiquary*, vol. i., p. 176; (April, 1880).

idea of purifying the body, or rather of annihilating the body to purify the soul.

The Greeks had indeed a view of cremation very similar to that of the Babylonians; like them they burnt their dead to purify them, or rather to deliver them from all material parts; if they gathered piously the ashes or a few charred bones from the funeral pyre, it was by a refined feeling of respect to keep a kind of memento of the departed.

The idea of the purifying nature of fire was equally strong among the Greeks, so much so in fact that the burning of the body became a part of the apotheosis. The soul being immortal participates, in their mind, in the divine essence of the gods, and it was prisoner in the material body; the destruction of this body by fire was the liberation of the soul and at the same time its purification of all the pollutions which it might have received during its association with its mortal envelope. Before being placed among the gods, Hercules has to ascend the pyre. There are many other cases mentioned by the classics in which immortality is acquired by means of fire, and this is the material development of the idea of purification by fire.

Perhaps we might trace to the same con-

ception the monstrous custom of the Phenicians of burning their own children as offerings to their god.

We might also trace back to the same source many other customs, but what has been said is enough to shew what was the mystic idea from which sprung the custom of the burning of the dead.

In conclusion, it may be said that when Nebuchadnezzar ordered the three young Jews to be cast into the "burning fiery furnace," it was not through the capricious cruelty of a despot. The Babylonian king, who knew how to acknowledge the merits of Daniel, must have been above such petty acts; he was a great statesman, and was also a pious man, having in view the glory of his gods and the prosperity of his country, but ordering those who, in his judgment, were blaspheming the gods, to be cast into the furnace, he had for object, neither to take a mean revenge nor to inflict a cruel punishment, but to drive away from the blasphemers' bodies the evil spirits who possessed them. Hence his quick conversion, when he found that the God of the Jews had preserved the three young men unhurt in "the burning fiery furnace!"

GEORGE BERTIN.

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*THE ERECHITE'S LAMENT
OVER THE DESOLATION OF HIS FATHERLAND.*

In connection with the paper, published in the first number of the *Record*, on Singašid's gift to the temple of Lugal-banda, I give herewith a kind of penitential psalm, written in the Sumerian dialect, and accompanied by a translation into Semitic Babylonian. This interesting composition, if not actually written and sung after the carrying away of the statue of the goddess Nanā by the Elamites, might well have chanted by the desolate Erechites on that occasion. The text is published in Vol. IV of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, pl. 19, No. 3. The transcription and translation here given, however, are based on several recent and most careful collations of the text, and

many improved readings have thereby come to light.

This fragment, as published, begins with the reverse of the text, and breaks off when rather less than half-way through it. Of the obverse, which is unpublished, the remains only of about sixteen lines at the bottom are left. It refers to the devastation wrought by an enemy in the city of Erech. This same subject is continued on the reverse, and ends with a kind of litany. Translations of this most interesting text have been given by Prof. F. Hommel, in his work *Die Semiten*, p. 225, and by Dr. Zimmern, in his *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, pp. 74—78.

1. LI-ŠU UMUN-MU [MULU MAĜ] MAŠTAGĀ' (?) ZA IM Š] IN-KARA-TA ?

2. *Adi, matim bêlti, nakru gabšu maštak-ki imšu' ?*

1) The original has the character *mal* with *sal* inside, instead of *kak* as in the syllabaries.

GLEANINGS FROM CLAY COMMENTARIES. — No. I.

"The moon and the stars which Thou hast ordained."... PSALM viii. 3.

THE recovery of the "records of the past," which has resulted from the discovery of the inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia, has been the means of restoring to us long lost chapters of the world's history; and we are thus able to test the accuracy of the Hebrew historians by a strict and continuous canon of contemporary documents. It is not in the field of history alone that this ancient literature has proved of value to the student of the Scriptures.

From the libraries of the cities and temples of Chaldea, and the palaces of Nineveh, have come a vast number of clay books, whose imperishable pages have preserved the sacred literature of the ancestors of the Hebrew nation. From these we can learn the religious thoughts and aspirations of the servants of Assur and Merodach preserved to us in a language akin to the Hebrew. In these sacred pages we see the same pious feelings of the heart in words and phrases identical with those already familiar to us from the Scriptures, and thus these restored volumes are placed before us as valuable clay commentaries, to aid us in explaining the beauties of the Hebrew writings.

It is only those who have wandered from our humid northern clime, with its clouded and leaden skies, and spent their nights beneath the clear azure dome of an eastern sky, who can understand how vast a factor the stars are, by their pure brilliancy, by their innumerable host, and the systematic and regular character of their movements, in proclaiming to men the illimitable power and guidance of the hand of the divine creator. To warm blooded races such as the Hebrews and the Arabs — ever in commune with nature, ever using her myriad beauties as instruments of poetic thought and expression — the stars were a source of boundless inspiration. The shepherd, who passed the long night watches in lonely guard, found in them a counterpart of his flock on earth. Each morning as the sun

rose and veiled the stars by its brightness, it was to him but the folding of the celestial flock, each night once more to be scattered over the celestial field. It must have been some such communing with the host of heaven which inspired the royal Psalmist of Israel, perhaps in his youth on the plains about Bethlehem, with such a beautiful pastoral simile as that expressed in the words, "He telleth the number of the stars, and giveth them all their names." (Ps. cxlvii. 4). How often must he as a lad have waited eagerly for the "singing of the morning stars," (Job xxxviii. 7), for that flickering light in which the stars of the twilight (Job iii. 9) gradually fade away. It must have been oft with the same longing as that so beautifully expressed by an Arab poet, Al Nabiga, who thus describes a long night as: "A night so long.....that I say to myself, it has no end, and the Shepherd of the Stars will not come back today." In the Psalms, and in that most pastoral of all the Hebrew writings, the book of Job, the stars are a source of many beautiful similes and poetic outpourings of the heart.

To the Hebrew it was forbidden to find an expression of his wondering admiration in worship of these bright orbs of heaven (Deut. iv. 19): but other nations of the same family, Assyrians, Chaldeans and Arabs, blended largely in their creeds the worship of the celestial host.

The Chaldeans have ever been regarded, and justly so, as the fathers of Astronomy and Astrology. Those ancient star-gazers who, in their nomad life, had communed hour after hour in wondering awe with the stars that had guided them across the deserts, and seen in them the heralds of coming heat or drought, had learned to read with no mean skill the book of heaven. In their astronomical books, many of which are in the British Museum, we find numerous striking parallels to the Hebrew writings; and thus they afford us valuable

commentaries on the sacred writings. The frequent reference to the stars in their innumerable character in such passages as: "I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven" (Gen. xxii. 17); "tell the stars if thou be able to tell them" (Gen. xv. 5); has its exact counterpart in the Inscriptions: for the great conquerer Assur-bani-pal speaks of his booty of sheep oxen and camels as being "without number as the stars of heaven," (Smith, Hist. p. 86.) In like manner the pastoral similes above referred to are to be found in the Inscriptions. The name given to the planets by Akkadians was LUBAT, which is translated by *tsenu*, "sheep," the Hebrew TSON, while they were also called AILU, bellwethers or leaders of the flock (Is. xiv. 9). So also the pole-star is called "the star of the flock of the many sheep of heaven," and in a hymn we meet with the expression, "the stars of heaven in their courses like sheep." In the tablets this same pastoral tone is prevalent, and it is remarkable, as has been already noted, that but few omens in the "book of the Illumination of Bel," as the great work on astronomy is called, relate to cities. The following may be quoted: "The star on high rises, and to rain it points. The star of the eagle is observed; the cattle decrease." Another omen, evidently the deduction of a nomad tribe, reads thus: "The moon, at its appearance with the rising sun, is seen. The gods the fields of the land to evil assign; Bel courage to the enemy gives." This points directly to the dark nights under which the *ghazzi*, or tribal raid, could advance—a time often sung of by the Arab poets.

Among the tablets obtained by Mr Rassam from Babylonia is a valuable astronomical list. This tablet bears a docket stating that it was *Kima labri su sadir-va bari*, "like its old copy written and explained," and that it was a tablet *saga E-zida*, "the property of the temple of Ezida," (the house of life), the temple of Nebo in the city of Borsippa, the ruins of which are marked by the mound of the Birs Nimroud. We know moreover the

name of the ancient astronomer who edited this new edition of this ancient work; it is *Nabu-iddina-akha* (Nebo has given a brother) the son of Arkat-ilani-damkati (From the gods is fortune), who placed it in the library of the temple. This tablet proves most clearly the naming of the stars, and some of the names are of great interest. The star of the god Merodach is called "the king," while two stars termed "the star of the flock" and "the star of stars" are called "the star of the weapon of the hands of Merodach." The star of the "Hyena" is the god Anu. Venus as evening star is called *Nabat kakkabu*, proclaimer of the star. The star of the Lady was the "star of Venus of Babylon." Two other stars of special interest are the "star of the Horse," dedicated to the god of the whirlwind, reminding us of the Maruts and their horses in the Vedic mythology, also of the Hebrew expressions: "He rode upon a cherub and did fly. Yea, he flew swiftly upon the wings of the wind (Ps. xviii. 10)." Also: "To him that rideth upon the heavens of heavens (Ps. lxxviii. 33). Again: "Behold the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud" (Isa. xix. 1). So also the star whose Akkadian name was "the star who speaks before the day," is called "the river of the day," or day-spring or dawn, sometimes called *naru sa yumi*, the river of day, so well referred to in the Holy Scriptures: "He causeth the dayspring to know its place," (Job xxxviii. 12).

More sombre are the titles, "the star of the serpent, sacred to the goddess Nin-kigal, the "lady of the great land," that is, the goddess of death. The serpent was called *Binut aralli*, "offspring of the grave," so the star became the star of death: as there was a star of Death so there was *kakabu baladhum*, "the star of life." Other stars in this list were "bright star," the star Iku or Dilgan, called the star of the land of Babylon, Among the stars none was more important than the morningstar which came as a brilliant forerunner of the Lord of Light. We find the morning stars Venus and Mercury called



REMARKS.

The accompanying plate (which is a reproduction of a pen and ink drawing) shows the upper part of the reverse of a large bilingual tablet, the lines of which, (with the exception of four at the end), are alternately Sumerian and Semitic Babylonian or Assyrian. The lines written in Sumerian are distinguished from the others by their beginning at the very edge of the clay tablet. In drawing this text, I have tried to reproduce all the peculiarities of the writing of the original.

In addition to the Sumerian lines being written more to the left, the scribe has also taken extra care to get these lines straight, by ruling with a rectangular straight-edge or the handle of his stylus, lines against which he has ranged the tops (not the bottoms, as with us), of the characters. His writing, however, has an upward tendency, so that

though each line is fairly begun, yet his guiding lines go through the middle of the characters towards the ends of the line. Where the characters are close together, the guiding line has become obliterated by what is technically known among die-sinkers as "the burr," and is therefore invisible.

As indicated on the accompanying plate, each line is, in the original, divided into two parts, probably to mark the metre.

At the end of l. 16, the scribe seems to have wavered between *ku* and *ki* (*hasaki* for *hasaku*), hence the corner-wedge which I have reproduced. *Hasaku* is, however, apparently the right reading. In three cases the lines of the translation extend beyond the surface of the reverse on to the edge of the clay tablet.

T.G.P.

by deeply suggestive and interesting names. and similar points for consideration in another paper. But we must reserve further remarks on this

W. ST CHAD BOSCAWEN.



THE KUSHITES—WHO WERE THEY ?

I. THE BIBLICAL EVIDENCE.

1. In the ethnographical table of the 10th chapter of Genesis KUSH appears as one of the sons of Ham with Misraim, Put, and Kanaan. In historical times, as shown by the Egyptian inscriptions, the race of Kush was identified with the Ethiopian populations of the South of Nubia, on the upper course of the Nile. But the scholars who have investigated the matter all agree to admit that in Genesis this name, like that of Ethiopians in classical geography, had a much wider meaning.

2. The extensive sense is proved by the list given in the biblical text of the sons of Kush, which follows a regular geographical order from the west to the east.¹

Seba, on the Red Sea, north of the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb.

Havilah, which must be distinguished from the Yagtanide people of the same name, and represents the Arabites on the right of the Red Sea, near the gulf of Zeulah.

Sublah, capital city of the Chatramotites, or inhabitants of the Hadramaut, Southern Arabia.

Raamah, (*Regma*), on the Arab side of the Persian Gulf; the names of his sons, *Daden* and *Sheba*, appear respectively in that of Daden, one of the Bahrein islands, and in that of Asabes, on the coast of Oman.

Subteka, which survived in the names of Tamydaces and Samydaces, town and river on the shores of Caramania.

3. Therefore this biblical list of populations descendant from Kush extends from African Ethiopia to the borders of Gedrosia. Let us see how it is confirmed by evidence from other sources.

II. THE HISTORICAL & ETHNICAL EVIDENCE.

4. The Kushites of antiquity, along the shores of the Southern Ocean from Abyssinia to India, have remained famous in the traditions and semi-mythological accounts of a prehistoric period. Their activity in trade, their boldness in seafaring expeditions, and the extensive spread of civilization which followed their efforts have won for them a lasting fame. But the historical data concerning their deeds have to be inferred from shadowy and nearly faded away traditions, lost in the mist of antiquity, and a few vague statements of historical authors only, have been understood as countenancing these half-forgotten souvenirs. All this period of past history has been gloriously depicted some thirty years ago, in a series of valuable and most interesting papers by the late Baron d'Eckstein, who was endowed in an extraordinary manner with an intuition of Oriental antiquity and the talent of reviving with his pen events of former times.

5. We are told³ that the Kushites

1) Cf. Fr. Lenormant, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient* (9th edit.), vol. i., p. 266.

2) Scientific accuracy could not, from insufficiency of documents, be always respected in these premature generalizations, where imagination had to play some part; but, taken in the whole, these papers present several faithful tableaux of bygone ages. Vid. D'Eckstein, *Questions Relatives aux Antiquités des Peuples Sémitiques*, in *Revue Archéologique*, 1855-56, pp. 573, 677, 724; *Sur les Sources de la Cosmogonie de Sanchoi-aton*, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1859-60, vol. xiv. pp. 157, 362, 501; vol. xv. pp. 67, 210, 399; and the five other papers quoted in the following notes.

3) See G. Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient*, 2nd edit., p. 145.

whose name means dark-coloured, were a race of small stature, possessing a well-proportioned body and fine limbs; a luxuriant head of hair, frequently curly, but never woolly like that of the negro; their complexion varied from light brown to black; features regular and frequently refined; forehead fairly high, straight and narrow; nose long, thin, and delicate, less salient than that of the Aryan. Their one solitary defective feature was the mouth, the lips being thick and fleshy.⁴ Tradition relegates their cradle to Bactria, that portion of the land of Kush watered by the Gihon.⁵ A few of the Kushite tribes settled on the banks of the Amou-Daria and the Syr-Daria, at the foot of mountains which divide the Bokharan plains from the plateau of Iran, which still bear the name of Hindu-Kush;⁶ others penetrated as far as Asia Minor, if we may attach credit to the legends of the Carians and their co-settlers, as a branch of the Kushite race;⁷ many came down the Indus and spread into the Dekkan. Some of the more venturesome crossed the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, settled on the Blue Nile, their descendants being the most irreconcilable enemies of the Egyptians. They appear to have developed seafaring proclivities from a very early date.

6. "From the mouths of the Indus, the shores of Catoch, Guzerat, Concan, and Malabar; from the strands of Gedrosia, Caramania and Persidia, as well as along the windings of the Persian Gulf, we meet with a number of mythological feats which may be fairly attributed to them. They marched along the shores of Arabia to Ethiopian Africa,⁸ where they spread into the regions of Sofala; they penetrated through the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, advancing towards the extreme ends of the Elanitic Gulf. Their activity overcame these barriers. We can follow their traces towards the Mediterranean Sea from the Delta of Egypt to Joppa on the shores of Palestine."⁹

Such names as those of *Kush* for Cappadocia,¹⁰ and *Kassi* or *Kassu* (N.E. Mesopotamia) in the Cuneiform inscriptions; *Kush* or Ethiopia; *Culch* (Kachel) of N.W. India; the *Kush* of Hindu-Kush, Kuça-Irripa and Kusistan; *Kush* of Cashmere and others may be considered as so many landmarks left by the Ku-hite race;¹¹ and the *Kuch* of N.E. India—the brown Kugikas of heroic times—one of the oldest Indian races, are most probably their modern representatives, much altered and mixed.¹²

7. Advancing in boats, they brought to the regions of Babylonia the art of

4) Pritchard, *Physical History of Mankind*, t. ii, p. 44. The statues and heads of statues from Telloh illustrate most probably the type. Cf. E. Babelon, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, vol. iv, pp. 55, 57, 59.

5) Genesis ii. 13.

6) Obyr, *Du Berceau de l'Espèce Humaine selon les Indiens, les Persans et les Hebreux*, Amiens, 1858, 8vo. D'Eckstein, *Les Ethiopiens de l'Asie*, in *Athénæum Français*, 22 Avril, 1854, pp. 364—368; *Les Régions de Cousch et de Chavila*, *ibid.*, 27 Mai, 1854, pp. 486—489; *Les Origines de la Métallurgie*, *ibid.*, 19 Aout, 1854, pp. 775—778; *De Quelques Légendes Brahmaniques qui se rapportent au Berceau de l'Espèce Humaine*, 1855, in *Journal Asiatique*. vi. 191, 297, 472. Fr. Lenormant, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, 9th edit. t. i. p. 268.

7) Afterwards superseded by or mixed with an Aryan race. D'Eckstein, *Les Carens ou Cariens de l'Antiquité*, in *Revue Archéologique*, 1857, p. 322; 1857-8, p. 381; 1858-9, p. 445, 509.

8) At the time of the XXI. and XXII. dynasties, *i.e.*, 1110—980—810 B.C. Cf. G. Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient*, p. 424.

9) D'Eckstein, *Les Ethiopiens de l'Asie*, l.c.

10) Lately discovered by Mr. T. J. Pinches, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.

11) Several names were most likely locally altered by folk-etymology.

12) On the Kuch or Kocch. Vid. Col. Edw. Twite Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of*

writing, apparently derived from the same source as that of Egypt, which progressed there and superseded probably another and more rude system. Thence they ascended the two great rivers—the Tigris, which way led them to the foundation of Nineveh, or at least to that of a settlement there; whence the early traditions about Nimrod the Kushite and the afterwards always-wanted predominance of Nineveh. Those who ascended the Euphrates carried their rude art of writing—half phonetic, half pictorial—to the north of Palestine, where it became the Hittite writing, and from where they advanced in Mediterranean along the shores of Asia Minor, founding those establishments, colonies and trade which came by inheritance to the Carians and to the Phœnicians.¹³

8. Hence the origin of Kush, the most

important of all the primitive races of which we possess any souvenir, a people extending from the Ganges to the Nile and from Greece to the Indian Ocean. Its power, although considerably diminished in after-times through the rise of the Greek empire, spread as far as that country. We are indebted to Greek poets for the creation of Memnon,¹⁴ the founder of Susa,¹⁵ the ally of Priam; and these Ethiopians the most remote, and at the same time the wisest of nations, were sung by old Homer and¹⁶ immortalized by him.

9. The direct descendants of this race do not seem to be represented nowadays in any state of purity of type, unless the continuous influence of climate has effected strong alterations in helping the return back of their physiological features¹⁷ to one of their component ethnical character-

Bengal (Calcutta, 1872, 4to, py. 89–94. M. Brian H. Hodgson, *Essay on the Koch, Bodd, and Dhimal Tribes*, Calcutta, 1847, has published a lengthy description of them, as well as a grammar and vocabulary, which turn to be corrupted Bengali, *i.e.*, Bengali covering a substratum of their earlier language.

13) There are strong reasons to believe that the Babylonian and Egyptian writing have sprung from a former system. They have many symbols in common, with similar phonetic values, which are not loan signs. A list of such signs was begun by Prof. Hommel and by myself independently, and requires only to be extended for being published. Prof. Hommel thinks that the Egyptian writing was derived from that of Babylon, and says that he can put forward some facts in support of this view. For my part, I find that there are cogent reasons to believe that both writings have come from an older system, which has also produced the Hittite hieroglyphics, and the pictorial figures and symbols which were preserved on the blackstone of Susa, the bornstones of Babylonia, and also preserved in some later symbols, may be the relics of the older system in that region. Cf. my *Beginnings of Writing* §§ 5, n. 5, and 7.

14) Hesiod. *Theogon.* 984; Pindar. *Nem.* iii. 62, 64; Æschyl. in Strabo, xv. 3, § 2.

15) Herodot. v. 54; Diod. Sicul. ii. 22, § 3.

16) Odyss. i. 23. 24. G. Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, 3rd edit., vol. iii. p. 212; iv. p. 213; i. p. 675. G. Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne*, p. 146.

17) There was certainly some exaggeration in this idea of the ancients, that the Ethiopians of Asia, and those of Africa, were a single and homogeneous race. Strabo, better informed of some local distinctions, could already characterize this generalizing view as “the ancient opinion concerning the Ethiopians,” and Ptolemy, like Herodotus, could go further in his distinctions. But it is not impossible, though unlikely, that the earlier opinion may be right, and that the differences of type spoken of by the later Greek authors may have appeared only afterwards, and broken the former unity. However, we may be sure that the qualification of Kushites has been unduly extended to some populations belonging to the Syro-Arabian stem, such as the Phœnicians, who had partly mixed with the Kushites, and to a certain extent inherited their traditions and experience.

istics at the expense of any other.¹⁸ This is probably the solution of the problem, and it is an open question whether the Kushites have ever attained to any uniformity of type. The testimony of antiquity in favour of such a unity may be understood with the usual absence of scientific strictness in ancient statements, as sufficiently justified by a few general features in common—such as a melanian complexion and thickish lips, trading propensities, &c.¹⁹ The name of Kushite was apparently a by-name, used to designate the semi-maritime populations which were the outcome of interminglings, here of Semitic, there of another race, with the melanian tribes on the shores of the Indian Ocean, and who rose to civilization owing to the incitement of the mixture of blood and the topographical nature of their surroundings leading them to intercourse with other countries.²⁰

10. Populations belonging to the melanian ethnic element which entered into the Kushite formation and some of whom still nowadays possess by inheritance some linguistic features, which, in anticipation of my conclusion, I shall yet here characterize as Kushite, have been known since historical times. They formed the

ethnic substratum of the historical Kushites,²¹ and appear to have always inhabited the region of the great marshes round the Persian Gulf, where they lived in a rather savage state, and over whom the culture of the great cities of the neighbourhood soon lost their influence. The bas-reliefs of Susiana prove to us the existence of tribes with a strong melanian element in them,²² though not negro, and resembling the present inhabitants of the coast of the Red Sea, as seen from an examination of skeletons found last year during some excavations made on the site of the palace of Artaxerxes Memnon.²³ The Assyrian bas-reliefs of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal exhibit the populations of melanian features of the marshes of the Persian Gulf as coalescing with other tribes of a more or less Mongolian type. These melanian tribes appear to have been the ancestors of the tribes of the present day,²⁴ who are closely allied as an anthropological type, to the Bisharis of the neighbouring land of N.E. Africa.

11. We are thus led, from mere anthropological evidence, to disclose an everlasting connection between some populations of Ethiopia and others from the shores of the Persian Gulf, in conformity

18) See below, § 10.

19) On the people inhabiting the Lamlun marshes, vid. *Observations sur quelques Populations de la Perse*, by Ch. Texier. *Revue Orientale et Americaine*, vol. xi. pp. 285—292. The frizzly head-dress of the statues discovered at Tal-loh cannot have been suggested by anything short of frizzly hair, which therefore were, or had been natural to that population.

20) The late Francois Lenormant held a similar view. Cf. his *Chaldean Magic*, p. 347.

21) *Ibid.*, p. 346.

22) G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, 2nd edit., vol. ii., p. 500, had been too far in his opinion that they belonged to an almost pure negroid type, as this is not countenanced either by the bas-reliefs of Koyundjik or the later discoveries. Some Elamite tribes from the palace of Assurbanipal at Koyundjik are reproduced in Lenormant, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, 9th edit., vol. i., p. 280.

23) In 1885, the excavations of Mr. Dieulafoy in Susiana were directed on the palace of Artaxerxes Memnon. In the midst of the foundations was found a frieze in bas-relief representing twelve soldiers. . . Their faces, feet and hands are black. From an examination of skeletons found on the site, it would appear that the early population of Susiana must have belonged to a black race, not negroid, but resembling the present inhabitants of the coast of the Red Sea.—*The Academy*, July 24, 1886.

24) "Of whom we have heard a good deal from the French traveller Texier. . . ." Cf. F. Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, p. 346.

with the fabulous traditions of former ages.²⁵ The connection can still be traced eastwards to the Indian continent, through the Braui of Beluchistan (who belong somewhat to the same type),²⁶ near the mouths of the Indus, and speak a Dravidian language now Aryanized, though to a less extent than its congeners of Southern India. The physical types of the populations speaking the latter idioms are by no means objectionable to the kinship here suggested.

In this manner the mythological connection of antiquity from Abyssinia to India would be recovered. But we can go further.

12 The enterprising seafarers and traders, the Klings or Kalingas, of the same race in S.E. India, who carried away with them the Indian civilization all over the south of the Far East, through the Indian Ocean to Indo China, Australasia, and the China Sea, who have left traces of their name and influence everywhere in these regions—who have shown a remark-

able ability for writing, have spread its use, and extensively multiplied its varieties in Indonesia, where more writings are found than in any other part of the world—who have carried their own writing so far that it afterwards extended eastwards to the extreme East, so that we find it nowadays, forgotten and in a disguised form, on the drift-wood inscriptions of Easter Island.²⁷—the Klings have continued, in the east of India, the habits and merchant traditions of the Kushites, their probable ancestors, who once ruled over the shores of the Arabian Sea from Ethiopia to India.²⁸

III. THE LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE.

13. A certain number of languages, including some Semitic ones, some languages to the east of the Persian Gulf and some in and around Ethiopia, besides some more non-Aryan languages of India, although obviously belonging to different linguistic formations, have each one of them come to present some similar kind

25) It is still an open question, which may very likely receive an affirmative answer to know if some of the languages of India, belonging to the Himalaic division of the Scythian stock, must not extend their affinities so as to include in their group some of the African languages mentioned above. The name *Scythian* is more appropriate than the objectionable and meaningless word *Turanian*; it has already been employed by several scholars, and offers a sufficiently approximate meaning for the purpose required.

26) Traces of a Melanian type can still be detected among the Frahuis of Beluchistan, and also in a tribe of the coast of Oman, the Gabas. Moreover, on the coast of Mozambique, negroes are met with which remind of the Oceanian negroes; some of them have the same characteristics of hair as the Papuans. A great resemblance has been pointed out between the Australians and the Bakalaharis, who belong apparently to the same race as the Bechuanas, their neighbours. Alfr. Maury, *La Terre et l'Homme*, p. 447.

27) Cf. my *Beginnings of Writing*, §§ 41—43 and 223.

28) The papers of D'Eckstein quoted above will be advantageously coupled with the following concerning the southern trade in ancient times and its extension eastwards: *The Islands of Bohrein*, by Sir Henry Rawlinson (*Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1880, vol. xii., pp. 201—227).—*Emporia, chiefly Ports of Arab and Indian International Commerce before the Christian Era*, by E. Rehatsek, 1881 (*J. Bombay B. R. A. S.*, vol. xv. pp. 109—149, and map).—*Notes on the oldest Records of the Sea Route to China from Western Asia*, by Col. H. Yule, 1882 (*Proceed. R. G. S.*, November, 1882).—T. Braddell, *The Ancient Trade of the Indian Archipelago*, 1857 (*Journ. Ind. Archip.*, N.S. ii., pp. 237—277). Cf. also my notes on: *Babylonian and Old Chinese Measures* (*The Academy*, Oct. 10, 1885); *Babylonia and China* (*ibid.*, Aug. 7, 1886).—Material proofs of the early existence of this trade are now coming forward. During his trip in Egypt in 1883, Prof. A. H. Sayce has obtained a mother-of-pearl seal of the Ceylonese kind engraved with the cartouche of vsurtasen (XIIIth dynasty, circa 3000 B.C.).

of Ideology, especially with regard to the position of the Subject, Object, and Verb (Id. Ind. V.), and display more or less completely the Ideological Indices (or gen. x noun; subj. x noun; object x verb; subj. x verb; subj. x obj. x verb) 1,3,5,3, which as an important substratum underly the whole region from Africa to India, passing through ancient Armenia and the modern Caucasus. If Ideology and Comparative Philology mean anything, this must have a broader import than would appear to anyone unaware of the relations existing between history and language. This characteristic, common to all these languages, is not that of the early Syro-African stock (or so-called Semitic and sub-Semitic or Hamitic languages). We are assured that the Ideology of this special formation was 2, 4, 6, 7, IV (or noun x gen; noun x adj.; verb x obj; verb x subj.; verb x subj. x obj.), which was that of the Hieroglyphical Egyptian, and is still that of the Berber formation—still that of the Arabian and Hebrew, and we also find it among the Nubian group of idioms in Eastern Africa. Therefore the similarity of divergences observable in some of the Semitic languages, in Sumerian, Susian, Amarian, and Media are most significant.

14. And now for an examination of those indirect languages of Africa to which we have just alluded. It is very remarkable that they should stand in the Dark Continent between the languages of the Shemo-Hamitic formation and those of similar Ideology (limited to its broad lines) which belong more or less directly to the great Bantu family in the south of the continent. Notwithstanding the substitution of races and the intermingling of blood which has taken place since their introduction in the Dark Continent, these inversive languages are generally spoken by non-Negro races. Bishari, Dankali, Somali, Galla, Agao, Chaho, Billin, Kuna-ma, all belong to this inversive formation, and their former arrangement as an

Ethiopian branch of the Hamitic languages must, in our opinion, give way to some other classification. They have extended their influence westwards, and the Mandingo, Susu, Vei, and others bear testimony by their indirect Ideology, isolated in the west, to the influence here spoken of. Between these and the above-mentioned languages, for which the denomination of Ethiopian is sufficient, we meet with the Bornu group, which is a witness to a similar bearing from a lengthy period.

15. Most important similarities in Morphology and words, not to speak of Ideology (as the latter had not as yet attracted the attention of scholars), were pointed out as an inexplicable phenomenon between those inversive languages of Africa and the Caucasian, Dravidian, and Kolarian groups in particular, and the Scythian stock at large.²⁹ The affinities shown, however, in the Kolarian and Dravidian languages seem only to be survivals of an older formation, extending to India, of which remnants may be found in a few idioms still existing in some out-of-the-way corners, the latter being particularized by a similar Ideology, and a large stock of common words.

16. The most remarkable of all these connections is the relationship between Daghestan, N. Caucasian, and Alarodian or S. Caucasian languages, and the preceding. Large and numerous affinities have been disclosed between their grammar and glossary with those of several languages of the Kuentonic divisions in particular, and the Scythian stock in general, and also of the indirect languages of Africa. These remarks of former philologists are now confirmed and completed by recent research, connecting them with several wedge-written languages now extinct. The Melanian ethnic substratum in the Caucasus, spoken of by Greek authors, has disappeared under several strata of other races whose languages have mixed with the older one.

17. In the broad lines sketched here we

29) By a great philologist of Singapore, the late J. Logan, in his valuable papers on *The Ethnology of the Indo-Pacific Islands*, published in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. ix (Singapore, 1855, and suppl. Penang, 1856).

are compelled to neglect the divergencies presented by these languages in their Morphology, and imposed upon them through the necessity of striving after intelligibility.

18. It would appear from all that we have seen hitherto that thus far we have unwillingly been led to trace out an old, and now extinct, formation, which once covered the sea-shore from Abyssinia to India, and inland from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean. This formation cannot be other than that of the mythical Kushites so much spoken of, but hitherto unrecovered. It is perfectly clear from other grounds that the exclusively Semitic character attributed to the Kushite race arose from misconception and we have no doubt that this misconception has prevented ethnologists from clearly conceiving what was, in language and otherwise, the great race which at the dawn of history has played so important a part in the

spreading of civilisation.

IV. CONCLUSION.

19. The biblical evidence, the traditions of history, as well as the linguistic remains and suggestions, all agree in testifying to the past existence of the Kushite race in the above-named regions.

20. Should the views here presented be definitely proved, they would simplify many difficulties of ancient history. The cross evolution of the Semitic languages, that of the Sumero-Akkadian, the civilization of Babylonia by the Persian Gulf, the many myths and fables preserved by ancient authors which connect all these regions from Africa to India, would be so many traces in ancient history of the first efforts of an important primitive race (the effects of which are now fast disappearing) towards civilization.

T. DE LACOUPERIE.

15th Nov., 1886.

REVIEWS.

HEBRAICA: A Quarterly Journal in the interests of Hebrew study. October, 1886. The Amer. Pub. Soc. of Heb. Chicago.

In this number special attention is devoted to the subject of Assyriology, for Mr T. G. Pinches contributes a very interesting article on the subject of the laws of inheritance in ancient Babylonia. The tablet which forms the subject of this article forms part of the collection obtained by the Wolfe expedition, under Dr Hayes Ward. A portion of the tablet was, however, purchased in 1885 by the Trustees of the British Museum. It relates to the application of Bel-kasir son of Nadinu to be allowed to adopt his step-son Bel-ukin, and make him his heir. This application his father refuses, as he wishes the property, in default of issue, to go to his second son.

The tablet is dated on the 15th day of the month Sebar, in the ninth year of Nabonidus king of Babylon, B. C. 546.

In a translation, with an accompanying plate, Mr Pinches shews, by long and careful study, he has mastered the difficulties of this class of tablet in which technical ideography and signs often form the most important section. The translation has the merit of reading smoothly, and being correct in its legal phraseology.

W. ST C. B.

DE INSCRIPTIONIBUS CENEATIS quæ pertinent ad Sam.š-šum-ukin, Regis Babyloniæ, &c. By C. F. Lehmann. Munich.

This small but carefully compiled monograph, which formed the *thesis* presented by Dr Lehmann to the University of Berlin, is the forerunner of a larger and more important work which will contain all the inscriptions of the royal brothers, Samas-sum-ukin and Assur-bani-aba. The two inscriptions which form the subject of this memoir are both in the British Museum, having been obtained by Mr Rassam during his explorations in the east. The bilingual cylinder of Samas-sum-ukin, now translated for the first time, is a document of great interest, as it affords another proof of the well known desire of the kings of the Sargonide dynasty to associate themselves in every possible way with the ancient traditions of the mother empire. Sargon in his Cyprus monolith, Esarhaddon in the inscription on the black stone formerly in the possession of Lord Aberdeen, each adopt the most archaic form of Babylonian writing; but in this cylinder Sam.š-šum-ukin not only adopts a very archaic script, but writes his royal record in Akkadian and Semitic-Babylonian, in imitation of the inscriptions of Khammurabi, and the earliest rulers of Chaldea. This affectation of Babylonianism is carried to excess as, *e. g.*,

the use of *enu* for the usual *bilut*, "lordship" The mention of the goddess *Enu* is of interest, as, it will be remembered that, under other names, she forms an important personage in Chaldean mythology. In the sixth line we find the city of Assur mentioned under its ancient name of *Balki-ki*, and we also have an explanation of the ancient name *DIN-TIR-KI* applied to Babylon. Here the Akkadian portion reads: *KIR. BAL. BE. KI. DIN-TIR-KI-TA*; which the Assyrian version renders *u'tu kirib Bal-ki(assur) an i su-lat d u'-la-tu*; 'From within (the city of) Assur to the seat

of life."

The second inscription referred to here is one engraved upon a small stela, by order of Assur-bani-abli. It records the appointment of his own brother *Ah i-tal'im* Samas-sum ukin to the throne of Babylon. This text presents but few difficulties, but is an excellent specimen of the delicate inscription of the best period of Assyrian literature. The careful way in which Dr Lehmann has prepared this brochure leads us to anxiously await the larger work he has in preparation.

W. St C. B.

NOTES, NEWS AND QUERIES

It is rather needful to note that, in the transcription of Babylonian words, the letter *m* is often to be pronounced as *w*. The uniform transcription as *m*, however, has been adopted by many Assyriologists in consequence of the difficulty of determining in all cases which transcription was the more correct. Thus the name of Darius is not to be pronounced *Dariamus* (as it is often written), but *Dariawus*. Similarly *usum-gallu* "the great one" (a word which has been probably somewhat Assyrianized in form; ought most likely to be pronounced *usuw* (= *usû*)-*gallu*; and the contracted form *un "word"* shows that *unun* (cf. p. 9) would be better transcribed as *unun*. That *Samas* (the name of the Sungod), and the word *amelu* "man," were pronounced as *Sawas* and *amelu*, is implied by the names Saosduchinos and Evil-Merodach, and has lately received new confirmation from the Aramaic dockets found on Babylonian contract tablets, which give *Sawas* and *awelut*—the former as the name of the Sungod, and the latter as the abstract noun from *amelu*. One of the most interesting examples, however, of the interchange between *m* and *w*, is preserved in the name of the month *Marcheswan*, the Babylonian form of which is *ar-ih-samma*, "the eighth month" "October," in which *w* has been restored as *m* at the beginning of this compound, whilst the *m* in *samma* is represented by *w* in the transcription. An analogous change takes place in German, the word *wir* (for example) becoming *mir* in some districts.

* * *

ANZAN. Prof. A. H. Sayce has written in the *Muséon* (vol. v. pp. 501-505), an interesting notice, from which the conclusions are the following:

"1) Anzan or Ansan was the name of a town

which later on gave its name to the district which 3) corresponds to *Susiana*, Akkadian *Nunna*, Assyrian *Elum*, in the limited sense of the geographical names. Nunna or Elam comprehended the whole of the mountainous region east of Babylonia, but use restricted it to the country ruled by the kings of Susiana. And it is not impossible that *Anzan* was the old capital city ousted afterwards by Susum or Susa."

Among recent publications is *Essai d'interprétation Assyro-Chaldéenne* by G. Massaroli (in *Le Muséon*, Nrv., 1886, vol. v. pp. 610-620.) It is a new Latin version of the description of Bit-zida, from the great inscription of Nabuchodonosor (Borsippa).

Two very interesting courses are now being delivered at the British Museum by Mr G. Bortin and Mr W. St. C. Boscawen. The former treats of the languages of the Cuneiform Inscriptions, and the course is free; and the latter of the Ancient Civilizations of the East. Both series have been very well attended. Mr Bertin's lectures are on Thursdays and Mr Boscawen's on Wednesdays, both at half past 2.

* * *

The forgery of Babylonian clay tablets, which was carried on a few years ago to a large extent by certain enterprising dealers in Baghdad, has now almost entirely ceased; but forged cylinders of Nebuchadnezzar, of the two column barrel form, are still offered for sale. Forged tablets may be detected by the frequent repetition of the same tablet, also by traces of the joining of the portions in the mould, and by a lack of sharpness in the characters. Any one accustomed to examine these tablets would also at once detect a forgery by the "feel" of the tablet which is greasy and soft, quite different from that of a genuine inscription.

W. St. C. B.

THE

BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

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BABYLONIAN ASTRONOMY IN THE WEST— THE ARIES OF ARATOS.

THE researches of the last few years have brought to light a large quantity of highly interesting and important evidence, historical and archaeological, from which it appears beyond doubt that the now familiar Twelve Signs of the Zodiac, together with others of the 48 ancient Constellation figures, were well known in the Euphrates Valley at an archaic period; and were thence brought westward, chiefly by land through Asia Minor, into Greece, to be subsequently for ever stereotyped in the *Phainomena*, the famous astronomical poem of the unscientific Aratos, B.C. 270, and which was itself a versification of the *Phainomena* of the astronomer Eudoxos, B.C. 403–350. The poem of Aratos, which was early illustrated by representations of the constellation-figures, became deservedly popular; numberless commentators, at the head of whom stands the great astronomer Hipparchos, in the second century B.C., have exercised their learning and ingenuity upon it; the elegant Latin verse translations by Cicero and Germanicus are familiar; and a third rendering in Latin verse by Rufus Festus Avienus, cir. A.D. 370, is both of much merit in itself, and also interesting from the additions of the learned author.

Now it could not escape the trained intelligence of Hipparchos, that many of the stellar observations recorded by Aratos were incorrect if applied to the stars at the period when the poet wrote; and assuming that the poem was meant to record actual observations made cir.

B. C. 370–270, Hipparchos, in the interest of science, proceeded to criticise and correct these supposed errors in his work *Τῶν Ἀράτου καὶ Εὐδόξου φαινομένων ἐξηγήσεων βιβλία γ'*. I have long been satisfied (1) that Aratos was no original observer, but, as Cicero calls him, “hominem ignarum astrologiæ”²; (2) that he faithfully handed down ancient statements, which had been handed down to him; and (3) that these statements had once been correct somewhere. The cycle of the precession of the equinoxes is 25,870 years; and hence if we have an observation which was once correct, the when and the where are simply matters of calculation. Thus, at one time *Vega* was the Pole-star, called in Ak. *Tir-anna*, (“Life-of-heaven”), and in As. *Dayun-same*, (“Judge-of-heaven”), as having the highest seat or throne: at another time, e. g., when the Great Pyramid was built, *a. Draconis* was the heavenly *Dayun*; now our *Polaris* is *a. Urse Min.*

Since the historical and archaeological evidence pointed to Babylonia as the earliest known home of the zodiacal Signs, it seemed desirable to determine whether the observations recorded by Aratos were correct at an early period in the Euphrates Valley; and thus to re-test the conclusions of history and archaeology on the independent lines of astronomy. I, therefore, with the able assistance of Mr John T. Plummer, of the Orwell Park Observatory, proceeded to examine the statements of Aratos respecting the constel-

1) Vide Sayce, *Astron. and Astrol. of the Babylonians*, (*Trans. Soc. Bib. Archaeol.*, vol. iii); R. B., *On the origin of the Signs of the Zodiac*, (*Archæologia*, xlvii. Pt. ii); *The Law of Kosmic Order*, 1882; *Eridanus, River and Constellation*, 1883.

2) *De Oratore*, i. 16.

I have shown elsewhere¹⁰ that there is much reason to identify the star *Hamal* with Λ -lôros. (=As. *Ailur*, Heb. *Ayil*, the equivalent of the Ak. *Lu-nit*, "male-sheep"), the first of the 10 mythical antediluvian Babylonian kings, and that such kings represent 10 principal stars in the ecliptic. The Ten are said to have reigned 120 *sars*, *sápoi*, which, it is stated, =432,000 years. This equation is arrived at thus: Each Sign was divided into 10 parts (=121 \times 0=120, the *sars*), and each part contained 60', and each minute 60"; therefore $10 \times 60 \times 60$ (=36,000) = $\frac{1}{12}$ of the circle, and $36,000 \times 12=432,000$ =the circle in seconds. It will be remembered that 60 was the Euphratean mathematical unit.

Lastly, it may be asked, Why should a particular star, and that not one of the first magnitude, be called the *Ram*? We must not appeal to the principles of Chance and Invention; they are useless in archaic psychology, and do but repeat the problem they cannot explain. The human mind moves easily, on the line of least resistance, and ever with a reason luminous to itself at the time, although necessarily frequently unknown to posterity.

We may remember generally that it was natural to the Euphratean to speak of the stars as a "flock," and of bright planets as "old (*i. e.* protagonistic) sheep." But this will not suffice to explain the particular problem. It is the Principle of Reduplication which we must call to our aid. Long ere the triumphs of primitive astronomy, the Sun had been regarded as a golden Ram, who opened the Day; as the stellar Ram, in subsequent thought, opened the Year. Archaic Egypt knew of the solar "Ram, the greatest of the creatures."¹¹ Archaic India knew Indra as "the Ram irradiating the firmament."¹² There is no borrowing in the matter between these ancient nations; the same idea arises naturally and spontaneously here and there. No Euphratean tablets have as yet given us a whole circle of archaic ideas equivalent, in mental standpoint, to the oldest portions of the *Book of the Dead* or of the Vedic Hymns. But this may come; and, meanwhile, we see in Babylonia the same human mind, at work on the same worlds external and internal, and producing, as it necessarily must, similar results.

ROBT. BROWN, JUN.

scriptions name the star *Sir*, "the Snake"), *Crater*, *Corvus* (vide R. B., *The Heavenly Display of Aratos*, Fig. lxvi. The *Crow*), the *Claws* (*Ibid.* Fig. lxvii.), the *Snake-holder*, the *Snake*, the *Eagle*, (perhaps *Idkhu*, "the Eagle"), and the *Horse* (vide *The Heavenly Display*, Fig. lxv. The Winged-horse was also a Hittite symbol; vide the Hittite seal in Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, xlv. 3, a). In the case of *Orion* alone there is a discrepancy, which, however, is easily accounted for, (vide R. B., *The Heavenly Display*, 82): in all the other constellations the agreement between the statements of Aratos, and the state of things in B. C. 2084 is absolute. This harmony cannot, therefore, be the result of chance; and it follows, as a matter of course, that Babylonia had originally supplied the material from which the verses were constructed.

10) Vide letter in the *Academy*, dated May 17, 1884; *The Antediluvian Babylonian Kings*, in the *Journal of the American Akadêmé*, Oct., 1884; *The Heavenly Display*, App. II.

11) *Litany of Ra*, i. 26, ap. Naville.

12) *Rig-Veda*, I. li. 1. 2.

THE FOUR-EYED DOGS OF THE AVESTA.

THE forty-first *fargard* of the VIIIth chapter of the Vendidad¹ is one of those which have most set to work the imagination of expounders. It relates to that part of the road which was once followed by people who carried the corpses of men or of dogs, and to the impurity which the passage of those baneful objects communicated to those ways. "Through it," says Ahura-Mazda to his prophet, "there shall pass no more either flocks, or beasts of burden, or man, or woman, or the fire son of Ahura-Mazda, or the *bareçma* formed according to the ceremonies."² Then the god indicates how these routes may be purified and rendered fit for traffic. "Only let them first cause to pass through them three times a yellow dog with four eyes, or a white dog with yellow ears. If they will make him do that, the Naçus³ will fly towards the regions of the west under the form of a hideous insect."

Who are these four-eyed dogs? Of what kind is this idea? It is this which exegetes have explained in the most various ways.

To solve this question there was one method simple enough, and that was to apply to it the explanation of the Zoroastrian interpreters. To them the matter has no obscurity. Traditional teaching informed them that this passage related to dogs which had a very marked spot above each eye, a spot which had the appearance of a second eye. The Pahlavi gloss relative to the passage affirms this without hesitation, and without leaving one to suppose even the existence of a different opinion.

But this explanation was remote from the system of the interpreters who believed that one should find in the Avesta a continual echo

of the Vedas. It is in the sacred book of the Aryo-Hindus that they thought they should seek for the solution of the problem. To that first conviction became united this other, that every act of religion should spring from a myth, and consequently that our dogs of the Avesta owed their birth to one or other of the mythical conceptions originating in the treasury of the Indo-European imagination. The four-eyed dogs were thus the fathers of the Greek Cerberus with the three heads, or of the dogs of Pluto, (Hindu, Yama, mentioned in the Rig-Veda, X, 14, 10, &c.), and who protect the dead on the way to Hades. Those interpreters even stated that the white dogs with yellow ears had only been added to our text, to supply the want of others whom it was naturally difficult to find in that land. Indeed the neglect of the real sense and the true origin of the mythical animals has caused the invention of the explanation of which the Pahlavi translators have only given the echo.

I confess that I have never been able to convince myself of the correctness of this identification. I certainly give all credit to the perspicacity of those searchers who have discovered the points of resemblance, but I cannot accept their views.

In arriving at this conclusion, I had first the conviction, contrary to that of my honoured colleagues—the conviction that everything is not a myth in religions, and that superstition has often a totally different source. I had also some exegetical reasons which appeared to me preponderating. In the first place, I believed that, among these

1) Book of the Avesta, treating of the rules of discipline, of impurities, purifications, &c.

2) A bundle of twigs which the priest held while reciting the prayers.

3) The spirit in all corpses, which takes possession of them and defiles them.

various categories of conceptions, there were essential differences. We have, on the one hand, some animals belonging to the infernal world; on the other hand, some agents of the sublunary world, upon the surface of the earth. The one class are engaged with the dead, the others with the evil spirits which haunt our world and attack mortals. As to what relates to Cerberus, the non-resemblance is absolute. Between a dog with three heads, which guards hell against any escape from it, and another dog with four eyes, or a white dog having yellow ears, which chases from the terrestrial roads a monster entirely unknown to the Italo-Hellenic world, there is not, I think, any sort of connexion. The dogs of Yama have, it is true, with the animals of the Avesta, the common feature of four eyes. But that even is only in appearance. The eyes of the guardians of the kingdom of Yama indicate their watchfulness. Even that quality is not peculiar to them. The Fire-god Agni is uniformly termed *Āturaksa* in the Rig-Veda, I. 31. 13; Varuna, the god of the Empyrean, is distinguished in like manner as *Āturamīka*, (having four faces.), R. V., V. 47. 3. The poet by this desires only to give it to be understood that these supernatural personages see on all sides, and that nothing escapes their observation. But how could this extraordinary gift be of use to the purifying dogs of the Avesta? And how could the Mazdians introduce into their paths of communication certain animals endowed with this double sight? As far as it does not concern itself with speculations or poetical conceptions, the myth may take free scope, but when it meddles with practical operations, with acts to be frequently performed, I do not see what place can be found for it then. What religious legislator has ever introduced upon earth the chimerical beings of mythology? Moreover, the addition of the white dog with yellow ears shows in a plain manner that we are on ground of the most vulgar reality. To

say that this creature replaces only the mythical dog is, in the first place, to affirm what cannot be proved: next, it is to suppose that the animal of the myth has been used in the first instance. All these considerations have always prevented me from adhesion to this exegetical system: and I am still constrained to accept, with Spiegel, the explanations of the Mazdians.

Things were in this position, when chance brought under my notice a Mandshu word, whose meaning and use are, as it seems to me, capable of throwing great light upon this question. The word is *durbe*, which, according to the *Tsing-wen-wei-shuh*, indicates a dog with four eyes, a dog which has two yellow or white spots above the eyes. Any one can satisfy himself on the subject by consulting the dictionary of Amiot *s. h. verbo*, II. p. 324. The Mirror of the Mandshu tongue, (*Manju gisun-i bulku-bithe*), explains *durbe* in the same way as to the spots.

No one, doubtless, can assert that the Mandshus have borrowed this idea from the old Indian myth. This would be much less admissible on the ground that this myth was not spread abroad, nor even in India. It is quoted only once in the most recent book of the Rig-Veda. And the great Dictionary of St Petersburg mentions only three other cases, in which it is spoken of in the post-Vedic literature. In the borrowings which the Tartars made later from Buddhist India, they have always preserved the Sanscrit words by deforming them only according to the exigencies of their phonesis. Indeed the Vedic myth does not appear anywhere among the Tartar superstitions which contain no tradition of this kind.

It is, then, quite permissible to say that the dogs of the Avesta have a Tartar-Turanian origin. It is among the people of the Amur exclusively that they have an equivalent. Thus still more is the Avestic conception thoroughly explained, and it is only explicable by the Tartar idea.

The notion of the Nagus or spirit haunting the corpses, is essentially Tartar, and is very nearly the same thing as the Mandshu *buceli*, spirit of the corpses, whose name also is derived from a root which signifies "to die," *buce*. This kind of spirits is of a nature essentially proper to Tartar demonology; and this method of chasing them, by a supernatural power, from a man or a dog, springs from a class of ideas belonging to Western Tartary. There are some analogous practices referred to in the paper on the Tartar religion which I am at present preparing.

It may, perhaps, be asked if the origin of the Avestic ideas may be sought for in the countries of Central or Western Asia. The reply to this question cannot be doubtful. There were in the Avesta—in the Avestic religion—many beliefs and practices which did not belong to the Aryan race, and which could not be borrowed except from among peoples called Turanian, Tartar, or by some other similar name. There are three of them whose origin cannot be doubtful.

1. The custom of exposing the corpses in the open air, on skins, mats, trees, or rocks, to save them from the teeth of the wolf, or the talons of the vulture.

Louvain, December, 1886.

2. The religious respect which surrounded the canine race, and which went, amongst the Lamas, so far as to consider a re-birth in the body of a dog as noble as to be born in human form again.

3. The worship of Fire. The Mongols, among other peoples, did not dare to extinguish it by a breath, nor to sputter it inwards, nor to contaminate it in any way. (Cf. J. Schmidt, *Forschungen im Gebiete ält. Religionen, &c.*, p. 145.) We do not say that the disciples of the Avesta have borrowed all this from the Tibetans or the Mongols, but that they have received these ideas from peoples of the same race, dwelling quite near them, or even amongst them.

I conclude, then, that in my view the best and simplest explanation of the Four-eyed Dogs of the Avesta is that which makes them the subject of a Turanian (?) superstition—a superstition which attributes to these animals, of a somewhat *bizarre* aspect, a supernatural power capable of chasing away evil spirits.

Farewell, then, to the dogs of Yama!

C. DE HARLEZ.

BABYLONIAN TERAPHIM.

IN a creed such as the Chaldæo-Assyrian, possessing an essentially magical basis, we may certainly expect that the belief in talismanic objects, such as figures of deities, engraved stones and other objects, formed an important feature. Of this we have ample proof afforded by the discovery of examples of several classes of these articles.

The belief in the efficacy of the figures of gods or mythic personages, to drive away evil from the house or person of the worshipper, is one common to all ancient religions, and exists to this day in various forms in more modern systems.

In the magical hymns of Chaldea a description of the manufacture of these figures, (*W. A. I.*, iv. 23, 1), and their disposition throughout the various parts of the house, is given. The evidence of the Inscriptions is still further substantiated by the discovery of many examples of these figures, varying in size from the huge winged bulls to the small terra cotta images, or minute charms for personal wear.

The winged bulls, which were placed at the entrances to the Assyrian palaces, were of Akkadian origin, being called by these ancient people *ALAT* or *LAMA*, were known to the Assyrians as *sedî* or 'spirits,' the *sedim* of the Hebrews, or *Lamasi*, 'colossi,' and were a species of teraphim or talismanic figures, being called "the guardians of the royal footsteps—the opponents of evil," while the winged lions were the emblems of Nergal, the god of War and Death, and were especially effective in protecting the house from evil. In an ancient fragment relating to the disposal of the various talismanic images we read: "Place the image of the heroic warrior (*Nergal*), who cuts in pieces, inside the door. Place the heroic warrior, who cuts in pieces, who overpowers the hand of rebels, on the

threshold of the door, right and left." The statue of Merodach, "the protector of the host of men" and his all-wise father Hea, were to be placed within the doorway.

Of such an arrangement of guardian figures as this we have ample proof afforded by the discovery made by M. Botta in the palace at Khorsabad of a number of statues of the divine protectors of the royal abode of Sargon (*B. C.* 721), which were placed beneath the threshold of the door in a specially prepared receptacle. These were the emblems of the gods who were to protect the going out and coming in of the royal footsteps, and to turn away evil from the dwelling of the King of nations.

In addition to the images of Nergal and Merodach, which were powerful to expel evil from the home or person of the worshipper, there were also the images of the special guardian gods and goddesses of the person using them, which formed a species of domestic Lares and Penates, and which approach nearest to the *Teraphim* of the Scriptures. The teraphim which Rachel stole from her father, (*Gen.* xxxi. 19) were evidently small images capable of being hid in the camel's furniture (*V.* 34); yet these are distinctly called by Laban "my gods" (*V.* 31). So also in the case of David's wife, Michal; she hid the teraphim in the bed (*1 Sam.* xix. 13). They also formed an important feature in the Bethel or House of God made by Micah the Ephraimite (*Judges* xvii. 5). These references point to the teraphim as being the images of the special deity or deities who guarded the life of the worshipper; and they therefore correspond to the god and goddess who were assigned to every Chaldean coming into the world. This idea still survives in the Fravashis of the Zend-Avesta and in the Ketubim of the Arabs — the ever guardian and recording spirits assigned to each man. In the Inscription

above referred to we read : "The image of his god M....., and his goddess, N....., place at the door;" where the names are left blank, in order that the priest giving the directions may insert them.

The character and role of these guardian gods is shewn in the hymns with great clearness, where the usual formula is : "The man, son of his god," or "May the heart of my god be appeased!" "May the heart of the goddess my mother be appeased!"

The teraphim may be regarded as small figures of the special divine protectors of the persons using them, and of certain other Gods, especially Merodach and Nergal, who were guardians of the house.

The Fire-god was often represented by small teraphim figures, as he was the dispeller of evil, and the guardian of the house and hearth, and we may quote the following hymn to that deity :—

Fire supreme chief, rising high in the land !

Hero, son of the Absi, rising high in the land !

Fire, with thy pure and brilliant flame

Thou makest light in the abodes of darkness ;

Thou decidest the fate of all that has a name :

Thou art the mingler of copper and tin !

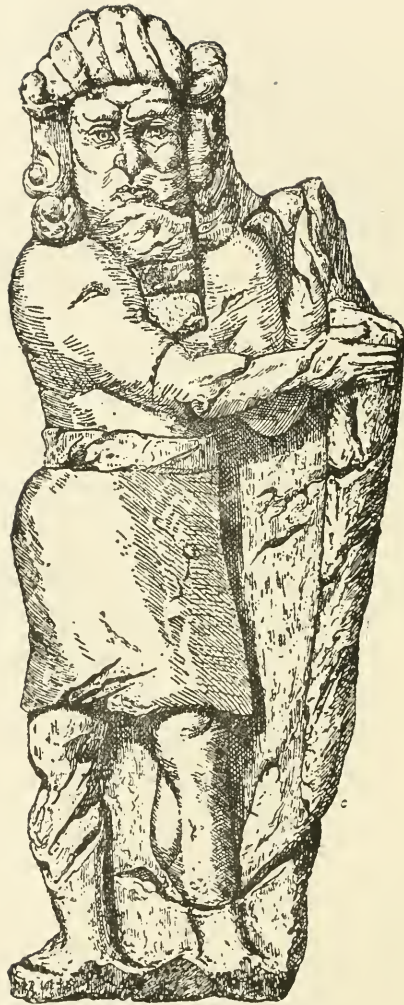
Thou art the purifier of silver and gold !

Among the teraphim figures found at Khor-sabad was a small statue of the Fire-god. The bright god is here represented, as the Sun-god is also, with flowing locks and beard, symbolical of the flames, while he holds in his hands the sacred cone, the emblem of the reed—the *Arani* of the Indians, with which the fire was kindled.

Figures also of Bel, with the horned cap, called in the Inscriptions "the crown of divinity," and of the jackal-headed god of death, were also found, placed in the teraphim shrine beneath the threshold of the door. In the British Museum there are several small teraphim figures from Nimroud, and also a little shrine, in which figures of Hea, the Fish-god, were found. These come chiefly from Nimroud, and date about B. C. 800.

In conclusion, the use of these teraphim in Chaldea, prior to the Abramic migration, and afterwards in Kharran the city of Laban, shew that some among the family of Terah still retained their old Chaldean superstitions after they had come forth from Ur of the Chaldees.

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THE FIRE-GOD.
(A Teraphim figure).

THE BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS AS MARITIME NATIONS.—I.

INFORMATION SUPPLIED BY THE BILINGUAL INSCRIPTIONS.

THOUGH the Assyrians, from the inland position of their country, could never become great as shipbuilders or as navigators, they seem nevertheless to have made the fullest use of their rivers and canals for the transport of merchandize from place to place, by means either of boats or of rafts made of planks placed on inflated skins of animals. Their neighbours, however, were, in many cases, more fortunate than they in having a certain amount of seaboard, which gave them scope for exercising their ingenuity in building ships, and their skill in navigating "the rolling main," and communicating, for purposes of trade, with the inhabitants of distant lands. Thus it must have been with Babylonia, Assyria's parent-state, and her southern neighbour, which possessed a certain stretch of seaboard on the Persian Gulf, an arm of the sea which, in ancient times, reached much further inland than now. It must have been at a very early period indeed that the Babylonians (both Akkadians and Semites) first began to launch their keels on the waters which lay at their doors, judging from the most interesting lists of kinds of ships and parts of ships, drawn up by the Babylonians, and copied by the Assyrians, which have been unearthed on the sites of their cities; and a good idea of the extent to which navigation was carried on in Mesopotamia, in exceedingly ancient times, may be obtained from these same lists. There we find mentioned Maïrite, Assyrian, Urite, Akkadian, Dilmunite, Makknite, and Meluḥḥian ships (*ēlippu Maïritum, Aššuritum, Uritum, Akkaditum, Dilmunitum, Makkanitum, Meluḥḥitum*; in Akkadian *ma Mairi, Aušur,*

Uri, Ura, Nitug, Maganna, Meluḥḥa); and judging from this short list of places, each of which most likely had a distinct build of ship, there must have been many boat- and ship-building yards in Mesopotamia in early times—indeed, the first of the above-named ship-building towns in Babylonia and Assyria, Maïri, means (if we take the usual signification of each component part of the name) nothing else but "ship-city" (𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪, *ma-ir*), and it is possibly for this reason that the name of the town was put at or near the head of the list by the Babylonian and Assyrian scribes. The name of this city or district also occurs, in Vol. V of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, pl. 14, at the head of a short list of districts from which wool was obtained, showing that it was a place of some commercial importance.

The word for "ship" or "ark" was *ēlippu* in Semitic Babylonian or Assyrian, and *ma* in Akkadian. Other words for boat or ship no doubt existed, but these are by far the most common. In many cases new words were formed by adding other words to the Akkadian *ma*, making compounds to which a Semitic form was, as much as possible, given. Thus we find *maturra* "boat," literally, "little ship," from *ma* "ship," and *tur* "small;" *magilum* and *magišu*, perhaps little arks made of reeds, (*ma* "ship," and *gi* "reed," added to *lum* "to be fruitful," and *su*); also *mulaḥ* "boatman," "sailor," from *ma* "ship," and *laḡ* "to go;" and *madudū* (apparently partly a synonym of *mulaḥ*), from *ma* "ship," and *dudu*, "to go (often)"—perhaps "ferryman."¹

1) A god named *In-ab* ("Lord of the Deep [?]") bears the title of *madudū* of Eridu (*In-ab madudu Gurudugakit*)—probably the Babylonian Charon, who may have been regarded as ferrying the souls of the dead over to *Guruduga* or Eridu. The god *In-ab* is perhaps, to be identified with *Ea* or *Ae* (often read *Hea*), the "lord of the abyss," and god of seas, rivers, sailors, and the *madudū*. The Eridu above-mentioned is probably not the well-known city in Southern Babylonia of that name, but simply the "Good City," the abode of the blessed in the world to come.

Besides the classes of ships mentioned above, there were also others, whose characteristics are expressed without having recourse to Akkadian, namely, the *élippu áriktu*, "long ship," the *élippu siktum*, "short ship" (the word *siktum* is from the Akkadian *sig* "weak," probably also "small," "puny,"); the *níbiru*, probably "ferryboat," (names of larger ships for this purpose seem to have been *élip ígri* and *élip níbiri*); and other kinds of vessels, one of which was called *élip Gištubar* (Akkadian, *ma gištug*), "Gištubar's ship," and another *élip ábi* (Akk. *ma aba*), "the father's" or "old man's ship," both expressions being probably applied to vessels of antiquated pattern.

Parts of a boat or ship mentioned in the lists are *kakkar élippi*, "the ground of a ship," probably the deck; *ísid élippi*, "the foundation of a ship," probably the lower part of the hull; *ḫarnu élippi*, "the horn of a ship," and *ḫarnāti élippi*, "the horns of a ship," probably intended to express "mast" and "masts;" *šil élippi*, "the side of a ship;" *ígurâte élippi*, "the bulwarks of a ship;" *ésen šéri élippi*, "the strength of the back of a ship," probably the keel; *kiskitti élippi*, perhaps "the ribs of a ship;" *markas élippi* and *timmu ša élippi*, "the cordage of a ship;" *îmeri élippi*, "the ass of a ship,"² perhaps the prow or figure-head; *árkat élippi*, "the stern of a ship;" *ḫin élippi*, the "hold" or "hull of a ship," &c. Accessories, such as

bít élippi, "the house of a ship;" and *karí élippi*, "the treasury of a ship," &c., are also mentioned. All these interesting details are furnished by a bilingual list which could hardly have been drawn up later than 2500 B. C., and gives, as has already been remarked, the equivalent nautical terms, as far as the shape and accessories of ships are concerned, in the Akkadian and Semitic Babylonian or Assyrian languages. The great advance made by these people in the art of shipbuilding at an exceedingly early date is therefore quite beyond question.

In addition to the above, another exceedingly interesting fact indicated by the same document may be noted; and that is, the method of indicating the tonnage. One of the most common measures for field-produce was the *gur*, and being apparently a large measure, it was found to be very convenient for indicating the capacity of such ships as were used for the conveyance of grain and other merchandize. The list in question mentions ships of 60, 50, 40, 30, 20, 15, 10, and 5 *gurru* or *gurri*. All these vessels were, naturally, of very small size; but although the list does not go higher than 60 *gurri* (the number with which the list begins), it does not follow therefrom that vessels of greater capacity were not built—the scribe merely began with 60 because that number was, with the Akkadians, Babylonians and Assyrians, a kind of "mathematical unit."

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2) Prof. de Lacouperie has pointed out to me that Herodotus (I. 194) says that "each vessel has a live ass on board," (to carry back the skins of which the vessel was constructed), Whether "the ass of a ship" mentioned in the inscriptions be a living one or not will be discussed when describing the vessels depicted on the sculptures.

AN ASSYRIAN LETTER

ANENT THE TRANSPORT, BY SHIP, OF STONE FOR A WINGED BULL
AND COLOSSUS.

THE following translation of a text referring to the carriage "in the midst of ships" (to use the quaint language of the original) of certain stones, which were apparently to be carved into the likeness of a winged bull and a colossus (the latter probably a winged lion), may not be unacceptable to the readers of the *Record*, as it will illustrate, to a certain extent the paper entitled "The Babylonians and Assyrians as Maritime Nations" in the present number. The original is an ordinary Assyrian letter-tablet, rather less than 2 in. and $\frac{2}{3}$ ths long by 1 in. and $\frac{2}{3}$ ths broad; and is numbered S. 1031, being one of the tablets obtained by Geo. Smith at Kouyunjik on his second expedition to Assyria in 1873-4. The inscription is very well written, but is not altogether easy to translate, as it seems to contain idiomatic phrases or provincialisms.

Line for line and character for character
TRANSCRIPTION, AND LITERAL
TRANSLATION.

1. A-NA ŠARRI BELI-IA
To the king my lord
2. AEDI-KA ṽ AŠŠUR-BA-NI.
thy servant Aššur-banî.
3. LÛ-ŠALI-MU A-NA ŠARRI BÊLI-IA
May there be peace to the king my lord!
4. ṽ AŠŠUR - MU - KI - IN
Aššur - mukîn
5. IK - TA - AD - RA - AN - NI
has aided me,
6. ÂBAN ṽ ŠÊDI ṽ LAMASSI
the stone of the bull (and) colossus
7. INA LIB [ELIPPÊTI]
in the midst of ships
8. U - SA - AR - KI - PI.
I have caused to ride.

9. [ĒLIPPÊTI] LA E-MU-KA ŠI-NA
The ships not deep (were) they,
 10. LA IN - TU - ŪA
they did not rest.
 11. A - KA - NI DA-²-TAM
Thus hindrance
 12. A - BU - TU
I have destroyed.
 13. E - TA - AP - ŠA - NI - MA
I have done and
- Reverse.*
14. U - MA - A
today
 15. U - SA - ŪI - IR,
I collected,
 16. U - SI - LI - A.
I sent up.

In order to make the text clearer, I give herewith (after my usual custom) a connected transcription and a free translation of the above text, with a few remarks upon the words.

TRANSCRIPTION

(with the words joined as they are to be pronounced).

Ana šarri bêlia, ârdi-ka, Aššur-banî. Lu-salîmu ana šarri bêlia.

Aššur-mukîn iktadranni, âban Šêdi, Lam-assi, ina lib êlippêti usarkipi. Êlippêti lâ êmuķa šina, la intûhu. Akani da'tam âbutu; êtapšani-ma ûmâ usaḥir, usêlia.

FREE TRANSLATION.

"To the King my lord thy servant Aššur-banî. May there be peace to the king my lord!

Aššur-mukîn has aided me, and I have shipped the stone for the bull and colossus.

The draught of the ships was not great¹, and therefore they did not ground. I have thus got rid of all hindrance. I have now finished; and today I collected and sent up the stones.)”

NOTES UPON THE WORDS, &c.

Lines 1-2. “To the King my lord,” &c. This is the usual short form of address to the king, in which the sender of the letter announces who he is. The name Aššur-banī means “Assur creator” (or “creating”), or “Assur my creator.” Perhaps an abbreviated name. The character $\rightarrow\text{V}$ (Aššur), in the original, is written almost like the sign $\rightarrow\text{†}$ (*ilu* “god”), with three small wedges on the top of the single upright one. The same form occurs at the beginning of the fourth line, in the name of Aššur-mukīn.

L. 3. Here we have the usual salutation in its shortest form. It often extends, however, to several lines.

L. 4. *Aššur-mukīn*, “Aššur, establisher” (or “establishing”). It is possible that this name is also abbreviated.

L. 5. *Iktadranni*. Aorist of the secondary form of Kal from the root *kadāru*.

L. 6. The character for Šēdu is *dan* (not *dir*) with *bat* inside—the usual form. The origin of the group is doubtful.

L. 7. *Ēlippūti*. This I conjecture to be the

correct plural of *ēlippu* “ship,” on account of its being of the feminine gender. The termination *ēti* is that generally found with nouns having *i* in the second root-syllable.

L. 8. *Usarkipi*. Aorist shaphel of *rukāpu* (more usually *rukābu*) “to ride,” with the provincialism of D instead of V in the formative syllable.

L. 10. *Intāha*. Aorist of the secondary form of Kal from the root *nāhu*, “to rest,” here, apparently, used to indicate the resting or grounding of a vessel too deeply laden, or of too great draught.

L. 11. The translation of this line is doubtful, and is partly suggested by the context.

L. 14. *Ūmā*, “now,” “today,” accusative of *āmu*, “day,” here used with an adverbial force. Very common in documents of this class,

L. 15. *Usaḥir*. Aorist Piel of *sāḥāru*, “to enclose,” “to collect.”

L. 16. *Usēlia*. Aorist shaphel of *ēlā*, “to ascend,” for *usēlia*, with formative D instead of V , as in line 8.

The probable date of the above text is about 630. B. C. (reign of Aššur-banī-apli or Assur-banipal). Of course the vessels which Aššur-banī designates as ships were not such as we should so name nowadays—they were probably simply large boats.

THEO. G. PINCHES.

1) Or : “The ships were not deeply laden.”

THE SINIM OF ISAIAH, NOT THE CHINESE.

I.

The 12th verse, chap. xlix of the book of Isaiah, has been generally understood until the present day as containing a reference to the country of the Chinese, *i.e.*, China; and not a few books or pamphlets relating to the Middle Kingdom or its people have been launched upon the world under headings borrowed from or alluding to the words of the Bible. My object in the following note is to show that this assumption rests on a twofold impossibility, and that the country alluded to must be sought for on the slopes of the Hindu-Kush. Let us recall the wording of the verse referred to as rendered in the Revised Version.

Behold, these shall come from far: and, lo, these from the north and from the west; and these from the land of Sinim.

The inspired author, whoever he was, speaks of the dispersed of Israel, who, when the mercy of Jahveh extends to them, shall be called back from the distant regions of their exile. Two verses—5 and 6, chap. xliii.,—illustrate plainly the purpose of the speaker.

Fear not, for I am with thee; I will bring thy seed from the east, and gather thee from the west; I will say to the north, Give up; and to the south, Keep not back; bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth.

It is now admitted among the exegetes that the Book which goes by the name of Isaiah had been written in Babylon during the captivity, about the middle of the 6th century B.C.

The xlv. chapter has been understood as a charge against the dualist proclivities of the time, addressed to Kyros the Great, who conquered Babylonia in 538 B.C. And an eminent critic, Dr. Reuss, has felt himself justified in admitting the date of 536 B.C. as that of the composition of the Book.

From the internal evidence offered by the context, the country of Sinim is a far distant land, which must be sought for in

the East, the only point of the horizon left unnoticed by the author. The word *Sinim* exhibits the grammatical form of the Semitic plural, therefore it is an ethnic term—the name of a people, not that of a country.

In the Septuagint version the difficulty of identification, *ipsis verbis*, was explained away by a simple substitution of names. The country of the Persians ἐκ γῆς Περσῶν, was named instead of the country of Sinim.

We may conclude these preliminary remarks by recognising that the Sinim were a distant population in the East, whose name, equivalent to that of the furthest most known lands, had been heard of in Babylon through the Persians.

II.

JUST before his conquest of Babylon the great Kyros had achieved extensive conquests in the East, which had busied him for fifteen years (534-539 B.C.) The regions of Bactria, Margiana, Uvarazmiya, or Khorasmia, on the east of the Caspian sea, were successively subdued and garrisoned; stopped in the north by the Siberian steppes, his advance in the north-east did not reach further than the Sacæ, who recognised his suzerainty, and henceforth became the vanguard of his dominions against the wandering tribes of the East. Kyros then, descending southwards on the plateau of Iran, conquered the regions of Haraiva (Arya), Thatagous (Sattagydia), Haraurati, Zaranka, and the country between the Cabul river and the Indus—namely, the modern Kohistan and Kafiristan.

Thus far no impossibility has appeared to show why the Persians in their conquests could not have heard from their border populations the name of the Chinese, should this name have been in existence. But *it was not in existence*, and the political circumstances which later on have put for-

ward the name which became the antecedent of that of China, had not yet appeared, and were not to do so yet for two hundred and odd years.

III.

THE late exegetes who have upheld the identification of the name of the Sinim with that of the Chinese have followed, as to the origin of the latter's name, a track beaten by the early Sinologists, unaware of the peculiarities of the evolutions undergone by the Chinese sounds in the course of history.

On the north-west of the Chinese dominion, and as a part of it, was an important state, whose name was written with a symbol which in modern Chinese orthoepy is pronounced *Ts'in*. Established about 909 B.C., this principality grew steadily, and in the third century B.C. was powerful enough to conquer the six other states of the Chinese confederation; and its prince assuming the title of She Hwang-ti, or "First Universal Emperor," founded the Chinese empire in 221 B.C. His dynasty under the aforesaid name, now pronounced *Ts'in*, was extinguished soon after his death, and did not last, his own reign of 12 years included, more than sixteen years.

The end of the third century being the time when the country of China, then covering about one-half of the modern China proper, was known under the name of its ruling dynasty, which is now pronounced *Ts'in*, it is out of question for the Chinese Empire to have been spoken of three hundred years previously in the Book of Isalah. But the name of the principality of the same name, from 909 B.C. downwards, might have been heard of on the other side of the Tsung-ling range, that which is commonly, though erroneously, known as the Bolor range, on the west side of which were the Sacæ subjects of Kyros

the Great. It is exceedingly probable that the said Chinese principality was not during these several centuries without communications and intercourse, casual, intermittent or otherwise, with the West. But no records have been preserved of the Chinese and semi-Chinese bordering states. And this absence is the reason, and the only one reason, which has led some to suppose that the middle kingdom has remained during so many centuries without any relation with the outside world.

Now the name of the state lately pronounced *Ts'in*, should it have been disguised into Sinim, ought to have been pronounced in antiquity as it is in modern times. There comes a crushing evidence against the assimilation of the two names. It is only three centuries after the Christian era that the Chinese symbol employed to write this name began to assume in its pronunciation a hissing sound which, in the wear and tear of speech, was developed from an originally dental mute. The pristine pronunciation of the name we ascertain in several ways. The most archaic of the Chinese dialects—the Sinico-Annamite has still preserved the old sound of TAN. A dictionary of ancient words, the *She-ming*, compiled in the first century of our era by Liu-hi, a scion of the Han dynastic family, gives for the same symbol the sound of TAN. Kuoh P'oh, a great scholar of the third century, very learned as to the old words, confirms the same, and further proofs may be adduced from the rhymes in the poetry of antiquity.

Therefore, the evidence is overwhelming against the proposed assimilation. The name of the Chinese principality of Tan cannot be that of the country of Sinim more than it can be the antecedent of the name of China. The latter name, as I have shown elsewhere,¹ arose in the south-

1) *Beginnings of Writings*, § 80; also in Col. H. Yule, *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words*, p. 157.

Tchen or *Tsen* was the name of the lake of Yunnanfu, which became that of a powerful non-Chinese state in the south-west of China, and which for several centuries after its foundation in 331 B.C., centralised and monopolised the trade routes from the interior of China to the Gulf of Tungking, and to the Bay of Bengal. And it is by this name of one of its feudal states that the Empire of China became known far and wide through the maritime trade to the Persian Gulf and the West. But all this has nothing to do with the *Sinim* of Isaiah whose identification is still wanting and must be sought for elsewhere.

IV.

Since the *Sinim* cannot be the Chinese, who did not bear any name of the sort, who can they be? In the Persian traditions fabulous, misty, and untrustworthy as traditions may be, we meet with the name of the country of *Seni*. It is said that Afrasiab, the Turanian king, whose historical existence dates probably from the seventh century B.C., gave his daughter Ferangiz as a dower, the aforesaid country of *Seni*, which is Tchinzitan, and was probably a territory near Samarkand, also, perhaps, connected with the mount *Tchino*.² Ferangiz was married by Siyawesh and became the mother of Kyros or Khusrau, according to the same traditions.³ A link between the country of *Seni*, which might have become *Sinim* in the Biblical text, and Kyros, the king of the Persians, would thus be established. But is the tradition trustworthy so far as the antiquity of the name is concerned? The affirmation of this

is more than doubtful, and the reverse is more than probable. The names of *Seni* and *Tchino*, whence Tchinzitan, were apparently applied to these regions a long time after the deaths of Afrasiab and Kyros; most probably when the Buddhist monks and the merchants, acquainted with the names of Tchen or Tzen by the southern intercourse and trade as that of the powerful empire of China, had it applied to the aforesaid region, which in the first century B.C. became the western most advanced posts of the Chinese dominions. The Persian tradition may be true as far as the country is concerned; but the antiquity of the geographical appellatives rest on too slender a basis to be trusted, and I think I am justified in believing them to be lacking in the antiquity required for the explanation of *Sinim*.

V.

In his conquests eastwards, Kyros the Great, as we have seen before, advanced as far as the modern Kafirstan and Yaghistan, on the N.W. borders of India, and these he included in his dominions. The population there formed at that time the most distant people known, and though no detailed list of their names when they were subdued by the Persian conqueror, has been handed down by tradition, we are enabled to ascertain the existence of at least several of them through Indian sources. The *Shinas* were amongst the most important. They are enumerated in the laws of Manu⁴ in the Mahabharata,⁵ the great epos of India, in the *Lalita vistara*,⁶ the Buddhist history of the Bodhisattva Buddha, in the

2) Cf. Dr. F. W. West, *Pahlavi texts*, i., 59 (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. v. Also Prof. S. Beal, *Gleanings from the Si-yu-ki*, p. 283 (*J. R. A. S.*, 1884, vol. xvi).

3) Mirkhond, *History of the Early Kings of Persia*, transl. D. Shea, p. 225.

4) *Manava Dhurmagasthra*, x., 44.

5) *Mahabharata Bhisma Parvan*, 317—378. H. H. Wilson, *The Vishnu Purana*, translated edit., F. Hall, 1865, vol. ii., p. 181.

6) *Lalita Vistara*, x.; transl. Rajendra Lal Mitra *Bibliotheca Indica*, N. S., n. 473; transl. Foucaux, *Annales du Musee Guimet*, 1884, vol. vi., p. 164.

Ramayana,⁷ the *Puranas*,⁸ and elsewhere; a body of evidence which goes back to the times preceding the Christian era. The Shina tribes, now five in number, are still in existence in the same or nearly the same region as they have been driven eastwards in the mountainous country somewhat more than in former times. They have been extensively studied in late years, *in situ*, by Dr. Leitner, Major Biddulph, and their dialects have been examined also by some

scholars of eminence—Dr. Trumpp, J. Van den Ghein, and others.⁹

VI.

There is no probability of doubt that these *Shinas* of ancient and modern times on the slopes of the Hindu-Kush, were the remote populations referred to in the expression *land of Sinim* of the Book of Isaiah. Such will be the conclusion of my enquiry.

T. DE LACOUPERIE.

December, 1886.

7) *Ramayana*, Bengal recension *Kishkinda-Kanda*, xliv., 14.

8) *Markandeya*, lvii., 39.

9) Cf. Leitner, *Dardistan*, 1870—1877; Trumpp, *Calcutta Review*, cviii., 1872; Shaw, *Journal Bengal Asiatic Society*, 1877; Major Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo-Koosh*, ch. iii.; J. Van den Ghein, *Les Langues de l'Asie Centrale*, ii., &c.

REVIEWS.

Remarks on the Zodiacal VIRGO, in connection with a representation of the constellation upon the porch of St. Margaret's Church, York, by Robert Brown, Jun.; F.S.A. (*Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. ix.) The author continues in detail his diligent researches *On the Origin of the Signs of the Zodiac*, which were the subject of his important paper published in *Archæologia*, xlvii., part ii. It is a serious enquiry, worthy of being referred to.—T. DE L.

Ancient Sculptures in China, with nine plates, by Prof. Robert K. Douglas (*Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, 1886, vol. xviii., extr. 8 pp.) Under this uncompromising title, the author publishes six plates of sculptures in Eastern China of 147 A.D. and three plates of Egyptian sculpture for comparison, with a few descriptions. It is evident that the Chinese artists at that time had in their minds some notions of ornamentation and symbolism, derived from old Egypt. We may suggest that they were probably carried from hand to hand through the sea trade of the South, which brought to the Northern shores of China, as early as a few centuries before the Christian era, many notions from the West.—T. DE L.

The Hittite Empire, by Rev. W. Wright, D.D. (*Victoria Institute*, Jan. 3, 87). The

author, who has the merit of being the first collector *in situ* of Hittite inscriptions and whose work, *The Empire of the Hittites*, has reached a second edition, has explained in this paper the *ensemble* of the historical position of this interesting people. T. DE L.

DIE KEILSCHRIFTEXTE ASURBANIPALS . . . mit TRANSCRIPTION, &c.—Von Samuel Alden Smith. 8vo. Leipzig, Pfeiffer, 1887.

In this work Mr. Smith gives a very complete and readable translation of the important and excellently preserved cylinder discovered by Mr. Rassam in the north-west palace at Koyunjik. This cylinder is one of the most valuable inscriptions in Cuneiform literature, and contains an account of the first and second Egyptian campaigns of Assurbanipal in Egypt and the capture of Thebes by the invaders—most important material for the reconstruction of the history of the XXIV. Egyptian dynasty. The carefully written accounts of the Babylonian King's action against his rebel brother, Samas-Sum-ukin, are now, for the first time fully translated, and restore important chapters in the history of Western Asia during the seventh century. Mr. Smith accompanies his translation with a transliteration of the text and a vocabulary which will render it of considerable value to students. W. St. C. P.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

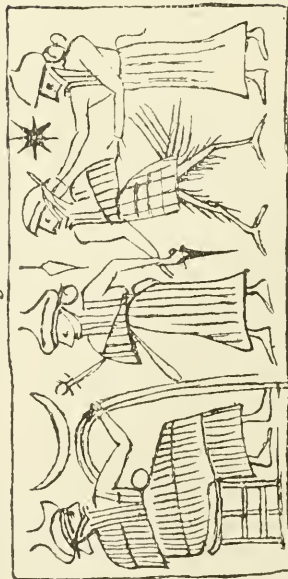


Fig. 3



THE BABYLONIAN IDEA OF A DISEMBODIED SOUL.

THE
BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

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IRANIAN STUDIES.—II.

THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE PAHLAVI.

EVERYONE knows that the language in which were written, under the Sassanian kings, the royal edicts, the legends upon coins and seals, as well as all the religious books of Mazdeism, is a composition of heterogeneous elements, of Aramaic and Persian words. The Iranian part of this singular mixture, was the Persian, such as it was spoken at that time, mixed up¹ nevertheless, of words borrowed from the Avesta, and slightly modified according to the genius of the language of the period. The Aramean part was composed, either of pure Aramean words, or of mixed terms in which a Persian suffix formative or flexive, was added to an Aramean root. To the first category belong, e. g., *yom day*, *akh* brother, *gabrâ man*, *am* mother, *ahar* after, *kolâ* all; to the second, *lôûtik* non-existence, *yedrânishn* carrying, *yedrântano* to carry, *karûtântano* to summon, &c. &c.² Certain suffixes and words cannot yet be classed with certainty. But that matters little to us in the meantime.

At whatever period we study it, the Pahlavi appears with a double character. The most ancient monuments present some words of the two kinds mixed together. The greater number of Aramean words have an Iranian correspondent; a few only, among others the prohibitive negative *lá*, do not appear to have had any in the written language. But a very large number of Persian words have no Semitic representatives.

The use of these last seems not to have

been regulated by any fixed law. This use, and even the creation of the words with a Semitic form, seem to have been left more or less free. Sometimes it is the Persian word which is employed, sometimes it is its Aramean equivalent; often the one and the other are in one and the same phrase. We shall see farther on some examples of these different cases.

When the decipherment and comprehension of a considerable number of Pahlavi fragments had been accomplished, it was sought to ascertain the nature of this singular compound. It was thought at first that there was here a Semitic language mixed up with Persian forms and words. But it was not difficult to discover that all, or nearly all, the suffixes, the forms of flexion and the construction of the words belong to the Persian grammar; and this prevented the admission of anything but an Iranian origin.

As the Pahlavi was still taken for an ordinary tongue, it was considered to be a mixed idiom, similar to English, which is composed of Roman and German elements. But this error was soon recognised and generally rejected. The freedom of choice between Aramean and Persian words, and the arbitrary substitution of the one for the other, revealed a conventional language. Other indications not less clear, as well as the testimony of some oriental authors, removed all doubts on this point. The examiners then went to the op-

1) By this term, although it is not properly used, is meant the collection of Persian and Aramean words. It probably had no special name.

2) See my *Manuel de la langue Pehlevie*, &c., Introd., pp. 11, 12.

posite extreme, and proceeded to maintain that the Pahlavi was purely and simply the Persian of the middle age, that Aramean words did not figure there but in form, and that they were only the written representations of Iranian words, and never read. According to this system a Pahlavi phrase would be represented thus :

Arma andrumque acido Trojæ 'ò prôtus ap' oris ³;

which ought not to be read thus, but as it really is :

Arma virumque cano Trojæ qui primus ab oris.

This opinion appears to have prevailed till now. However, the learned dragoman of the German Consulate at Constantinople, (whose premature death is a source of deep regret to science), Dr. J. H. Mordtmann, maintained to the last that the Pahlavi is a language of the Effendis, that is to say, a real language, but one created to please the people of the higher classes, to place them above the vulgar, and thus to be unintelligible to the latter. The question actually stands at this point at present.

Since the demise of Dr. Mordtmann, his opinion has been without a defender ; it appears generally to be admitted that the Semitic portion of the Pahlavi has never been used except for writing, and that no word of this description was ever pronounced.

This opinion can boast in its favour the names of *savants* of superior authority to all others—Spiegel and Nöldeke. It rules at present, and it appears rash not to range oneself determinedly on its side. And yet there remain in our minds a good many doubts and difficulties whose solution has not been given. We shall set these forth fully, whatever may be our fate, and we hope, in submitting them to the judgment of our learned colleagues, to call forth a definite solution of this important problem.

Let us first put the question distinctly. It is certain that at a particular epoch the Huzvareh did not serve for any other purpose

than reading, and that the Pahlavi had the character which Spiegel and Nöldeke attributed to it. That appears incontestable. But it remains to be discovered if this character existed at its origin, if the first authors of the Pahlavi system, the first who thought of employing collaterally with Persian words, certain Aramean words and radicals, did not take these last for simple representative signs, entirely despoiled of their own value.

To render the discussion clearer, and to give it a palpable basis, let us expose and analyse two or three Pahlavi phrases taken from the more ancient monuments of the language. We shall choose for this purpose the legend upon a coin of a Cilician satrap, an inscription of the first Sassanian king, and a fragment of the Zend or Pahlavi commentary on the Avesta. The words, or parts of the Aramean words, are written in italics. We translate them as types in Latin-Greek, the Greek representing the Aramean.

1. The Satrap coin.

Mizdi *zî val* Abd Zoharân Khalk.
misthos *qui pro* Abdou Zoarou.

2. Sassanide Inscription.

Patkali *denman* bagî Artakhashar *malkân* *malkâ* airân minuectîrî *men* Yazatân *barman* bagî Papeke *malkâ*.

Imago *tautê* divi A. *basileum* *basileus*, Erâni celestis-originis *apo* deo *huïos* divi pâpeki *basileôs*.

3. Verse from the Avesta. Vendidad, Farg. V. § 1.

Gabrâ aîtân barâ vitîrît *mehim* *yîni* *zak* zofar rostak (*aigh* zofar *men* rostâk ; *ait* (?) *mano* rostâk *yemlalunît*) *zak* mûrû vazît *men* *zak* biland gîr avo *zak* zofar rostâk. *Mehim* *zak* kehrrp *rashta* *unît* *valman* rostak *anshōta*. —*Anêr* *outo* *apo* transit (moritur) *huper* *en* *tini*, saltû collis (*toât'* *esti* fauces *ek* monte ; sunt (?) *hoi* *collem* *legowunt*. *tis* *avis* *epi* *it* *apo* *autou* *alto* *colle* *ad* *auton* *saltum*. *Huper* *touto* *corpore* *pro* *esthîit* *ho* *mortui* *anthrôpou*.

Let us specially analyse this passage. We find there an Aramean noun subject, then

3) First verse of the *Æneïd* written in Latin-Greek,

a Persian noun with an Aramean prefix, a preposition composed of two Aramean terms rendering a simple Persian term, an Aramean pronoun determining a Persian noun objective, having itself an objective of the same nature. The parenthesis which follows explaining the two last words, contains a Semitic adverb and two Persian words bound between them by a Semitic preposition, then a doubtful word, a Semitic pronoun, a Persian noun, and at the end an Aramean verb. The analysis could be easily continued.

Here is certainly the most singular mixture of words that can be conceived. And all this should be read as if there were nothing in it but Persian words! Just as if Greek words ought to be pronounced as if their Latin equivalents were written only! There is here, one cannot deny, a very extraordinary fact. We know that in many countries there are some ordinary or artificial languages which present a mixture of heterogeneous elements of one and the same kind, although different from various points of view. The Urdu, the English, the pidgin-English, have something in common. But a hybrid dialect, with words intended to be spoken, some as they were written, others in quite a different manner, notwithstanding what we have said, as we shall see further on, a phenomenon unexampled in history. A fact unique of its kind, is not to be rejected for that alone; but in order that it should be accepted, while its awkwardness renders it unlikely, there must be grave reasons and serious proofs. Can we imagine an Austrian author writing first a German word, and following it with a Hungarian word written in every letter, but only intended to represent its German synonym, which alone ought to be read? Yet that is the very case which is supposed to exist here.

The scholars who have adopted this explanation, have been drawn naturally to it by reasons which have appeared to them sufficient. We have then first to examine the value of these motives, then to set forth the fact which makes us incline towards a different opinion. The arguments which are ad-

duced for the figurative use of Semitic words may be resumed and arranged under two heads, the irregularity of the expressions which are apparently Aramean, and the testimony of Orientals. Let us examine each of them successively.

1. The irregularities which are of principal moment are those presented by the title taken by the Arsacidan and Sassanian kings—*ī Malkân malká*, king of kings. We find, in fact, in this expression two Semitic words construed according to the rules of Persian syntax. Further, the first is formed of an Aramean radical and a Persian suffix indicating the plural; the second is purely Semitic, but it has a form which the genius of Aramean does not allow; it is in the emphatic state when it ought to be in the construct state as governing the genitive *Malkân*. The terms have the impossible sense of “a king of kings.” Now, it is declared, it cannot be admitted that words containing such gross faults have ever been pronounced. These scholars conclude from this that they serve only as indicators, and that in reading, Iranian equivalents were substituted for them.

This argument, we frankly avow, in no way convinces us. Let us admit, without reserve, the existence of the grammatical errors which are pointed out; we draw from them the diametrically opposite conclusion.

If such gross barbarisms could not be uttered by the lips of an educated man, there is much more reason that they should be excluded from his writing. *Verba volant, scripta manent*. The Sassanian kings would have blushed to employ these expressions in the fleeting act of speech, and they would not have hesitated to engrave them in iron and on the rocks, and to spread through the world coins stamped with this seal of ignorance, which would expose them to the laughter of the world, especially of their neighbours and Semitic subjects! This is not probable.

These scholars would perhaps reply that the use of the terms *Malkân malká* is justified by their being imitated from the Persian words *Shahân Shah*, and that the *á* in

malká is in fact only the final of *shah*. This would seem to us quite useless. This justification would have some value if *Malkán malká* were the only expression of this kind. Now this construction is to be found at every step in the Pahlavi books, (e. g., *ahrábán rúbán, darvandán patjrus, &c.*), and many Huzvaresh words have the form in *á* (ah) of the emphatic state, while there is no Persian word in *ah* to correspond; e. g., *gabrá* (Pers. *mart*) man; *kalbá* (Pers. *sag*) dog; *matá* (Pers. *dih*) country, &c. Indeed, if this supposition were true, it would necessitate *Malkahán malká* like *Sháhán shah*, and not *Malkán malká*; therefore the whole explanation falls to the ground. We shall see, besides, farther on, how the title *Malkán malká* was formed.

And even if we were to put this consideration aside, the reasoning would not be more solid, for the expression *Malkán malká* has nothing of the character they attribute to it, and is not faulty, as they assert. It is, on the contrary, easily explained by a constant and universal fact, and it is formed according to the process followed by all those nations who borrow words from other peoples. Wherever foreign words are introduced into a language, they are so in the fashion and according to the genius of the people who appropriate them, whether it be to make a superficial and transitory use of them, or to incorporate them into their vocabulary.

Let us take German as an illustration. We find there a large number of words taken from Latin or even French. Now in none of these borrowings is there any account taken of the laws of these languages; nearly all violate openly the rules of orthography and grammar, both Latin and French. Let us recall only such words as *theater, medizín, literatur, Cur, notiz, manier, passagier, officier, adjutant, universität, spítal, medizíníren, krítisírén, privat dozent, Religions lehrer, soldaten, memoiren, realien, personalien, Italien*, and a hundred others like them, and we shall see how German does not in the least regard the orthography, flexions, or rules of construction, either French or Latin. Let us now consider

again, and separately, the two Pahlavi terms.

1. *Malkán*. While even admitting that the suffix *án* may be of Persian origin, we can find in this word nothing extraordinary or irregular. It is the exact counterpart of *soldaten, realien, personalien*. The first, like all the other three, is formed by an exotic radical (*malk-, soldat-, reali-, personali-*) and by a plural suffix in use among the people borrowing; *án* corresponds exactly to *en* in German. We have, then, this parallelism:

Malk - án
soldat - en
reali - en, &c.

Thus the form *Malkán* is perfectly normal; let us proceed.

2. *Malká*. The fault we find in this word is that it is in the emphatic state, that is to say, as isolated and determined, although it ought to be in the construct case, as governing a genitive. There is in this argument a sort of appreciation which we do not share. But, to be clearer, let us divide our observations.

a. First, *Malkán malká* does not signify "a king of kings," but "the king of kings"—(see hereafter.)

b. Besides, we cannot be certain that the Persians observed the distinctions and rules of the three states of Aramean nouns. That would be an unheard-of fact. As we have remarked above, all people who appropriate an exotic expression transform it and employ it according to their own system, and without regard to any foreign custom.

German, e. g., which borrows from Latin some words such as *genius, ordinarius, gymnasium*; does it trouble itself in the least with their different forms? Certainly not; but it says,—*der genius, des genius, dem genius, die, den genius*; absolutely as if no Latin declension existed. Of the French *mémoires* it makes *Memoiren*; of *belles lettres* it makes *Belletristik*. It says *Religions-, Universitäts lehrer*, as if *religion* and *universität* were German words. And yet it can be demanded that the Persians should have observed the distinction, more or less subtle,

of the nominal states, of which their grammar has no suspicion, and this contrary to the usages of all peoples!

3. *a.* This is much less justified, inasmuch as the Arameans themselves commenced to lose the feeling of these differences, and to confound the various cases of the nouns. Many words, in Chaldea as in Syria, have lost the form of the absolute case, and use the emphatic in both cases. These are $\int\text{O}\int$ bull, $\int\text{O}\int$ dead, $\int\text{O}\int$ demon, $\int\text{O}\int$ servant. In many instances, the two cases are used indifferently. We find some words in the *emphatic* with the indefinite pronoun \int (*klud*), 'quidam,' and even without that pronoun, but with the same sense.

Ex. $\int\text{O}\int$ and $\int\text{O}\int$ *e subito*, Luke ii. 13 and xiii. 7. $\int\text{O}\int$ = *άνθρωπος* τῆς, Luke xix. 12.

The value of the *emphatic* is lost at that point where the demonstrative \int is added to convey the force of the article.

Ex. $\int\text{O}\int$ *locutus est mutus*, ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός, Matth. ix. 33.

But more than that; they use the *emphatic* instead of the construct case, by prefixing the particle \int , \int , to the word governed, Ex. : $\int\text{O}\int$ and sometimes even without that particle. See Esther i. 9.

b. The same phenomena show themselves in Mandaean with still greater frequency. The distinction of the cases is yet more effaced. The *emphatic* oftener replaces the construct case before the governed word; it sometimes even designates the attribute or the objective of an adjective. E. g., \int the good fortune of life, \int abounding in life. (See TH. NÖLDEKE, Ueber die Mundart der Mandaer, pp. 69-70).

It is to be noted that the Mandaean had its seat nearer the Iranian countries than the other known Aramean dialects.

c. As soon as the Persians adopted the construction *Malkân malkâ*, (and that it ought to be, we shall see in a moment,) there

could be no longer any question of the construct case for the second word; the *emphatic* agrees with it best, as it is used in a determined sense. The thing is so much the clearer because these terms are often preceded by the particle \int , which is, without contradiction, a determinative.

d. The construction of these words cannot be other than Iranian; that is the result of our first observation. Thus German, when it would render the idea contained in the words "manière" and "soldat" takes the two French words "manière" and "soldat." It mutilates the former to adapt its elements to its own phonesis, and thus makes from it *manîr* (manier); to the latter it adds the suffix *eu* of the German plural; then placing two terms in the order required by the German construction, it makes up the compound *soldaten manier*. Some expressions, such as 'Religions lehrer' present phenomena of the same kind.

e. All, then, is natural, all is normal in the formula of the royal title of the Sassanians. Its mode of formation will point out to us its nature. The Parthian kings who took it did not quite at first entitle themselves *malkân malkâ* or *shahân shah*; they began with the simple qualification *malkâ*, king, in the *emphatic state*, and as that was more natural to foreigners, it was first *Mitradat malkâ*, *Valgash i malkâ*; the same also, with the Aramean term *zi, zi Malkâ*, ὁ βασιλεύς, *Mitradat king, Valgash (Vologès i), the king*, as they had had *Ἀρσαμης βασιλεύς* before *Μιθριδατης βασιλευς βασιλεων*. Then the title, completing itself, became *i Malkân malkâ*, the king of kings, as that ought to be; for a Persian could not have dreamed of changing the form of the word *malkâ* to follow the laws of the Aramean grammar, which, besides had already fallen into desuetude.

We might remark here, that the first time this title appears is in the form *malkîn malkâ*, and not *malkân*. *Valgash i Akhshak Malkîn malkâ*. The question is not then of a word purely and exclusively Semitic which could not be copied over a Persian word

of the accessories are varied. The minister of justice bears now a drawn sword; with which, no doubt, the punishment adjudged is to be inflicted. There is, however, no clear indication that the scene is laid beneath the waters; but the water apparently spouting up from behind the judge is probably to be connected with originally sub-aqueous characteristics.

There is in the British Museum a very interesting seal, on which the semi-bird-like character of the soul, according to the Babylonian conception, throws an important light.⁶ This seal represents, I have no doubt, the nightly voyage of the sun beneath the waters, from the place of setting in the west to his eastern starting place. On the tablet of the sun-god obtained by Mr. Rassam from Abu-habba (*W. A. I.*, vol. v. pl. 60) the sun is represented in successive places beneath the waters, to denote his sub-aqueous journey. But on the seal the representation is more elaborate, and he is conveyed or escorted by a spirit crew on a boat or raft. The sun is seen above the helmsman. In the middle of the vessel are two other figures, between two masts, and above is, as Mr. Pinches points out, a canopy or awning, needed apparently for protection from the rays *nimum propinqui solis*. It may be doubted whether this is not to be looked upon as a sort of engine room. There is something like a bottle, probably in the hand of the shorter figure, and there is another globe above. These may contain the imprisoned winds as a motive power in the absence of sails. One is reminded of the bag of winds presented to Ulysses, and which his companions so unfortunately opened. Beyond the canopied compartment is what would appear to be the man at the bows on the look out.⁷

In Dr. Ward's article and illustrations

before alluded to there are various other matters of interest which I cannot now discuss; but a word must be said with regard to the seal numbered by Dr. Ward Fig 20. Here we have a priest or worshipper standing before two altars or pedestals, one in front of the other. On that in the rear an animal, perhaps a dog, is seated. Immediately in front of the worshipper is an altar, bearing above it what Dr. Ward describes as "an irregular oval object not easy to identify." This object is clearly, to my mind, a phallic symbol or *asherah*. Queen Maachah's *mipt letseth*, or "abominable image," which Asa cut down (I. Kings, xv., 13) may very well have been just such an object as that on the seal in question. The British Museum has a seal essentially analogous, though differing very much in details. Among these differences is the fact that the *asherah* approaches more nearly to a cone. This seal has curiously indicated on it the number 15,⁸ connecting the objects delineated with Ishtar as goddess of love, she being the goddess 15, $\rightarrow\text{I} \langle \text{W} \rangle$, a name supposed to be connected with half the days of the month. On the "oval object" in Dr. Ward's figure there is a number of marks, probably also fifteen, though from the nature of the representation this cannot be clearly made out. On another seal in the British Museum with two *asherahs*, one surmounted by a star and the other by a crescent; that bearing the star probably had fifteen marks originally, though a piece is now chipped off. The other *asherah* under the crescent has ten marks, still it should be observed a multiple of five. It seems not unlikely that there is under these numerical indications some principle at present hidden, but which hereafter may come to light.

THOMAS TYLER.

6) See Fig. 3.

7) One is tempted to suggest that with the shape of the Sun's vessel, as depicted on the seal, is to be connected what is said in the Greek poets of the Sun's nightly voyage being performed in a *cup*. In this voyage, moreover, the sun appears to have descended to the depths of Oceanus (Athenæus, lib. xi. p. 469).

8) As to the indication of this number, I am permitted to say that Mr. Pinches agrees with me.

DID CYRUS INTRODUCE WRITING INTO INDIA?

In the *Lalita vistara*,¹ ch. x., to the young Bodhisattva² led to the writing-school *lipi-sala*, is attributed the authorship of a list of 64 writings. In a recent translation,³ the statement runs thus :

“ Now Bodhisattva, taking up a tablet made of Uragasara sandal-wood and excellent ink, with a golden pen mounted with jewels, thus addressed the tutor Viçvamitra: ‘ Which is the writing, sir, which you wish to teach me ?

Is it the Brahmi writing ?

or the Kharôsti writing ?

(and so forth unto sixty-four different writings)⁴

Out of these sixty-four kinds which is it, sir, that you wish to teach me ? ”

2. This complete list is in itself valueless for scientific purposes, but a few of the names derive interest as far as we can ascertain their precise reference to some known writings, from the date of its com-

position. Therefore the vexed question as to the date of the work is important. The Sanskrit text now known is almost identical with that which was translated into Chinese in 615 A.D. under the title of *Fang kwang ta tchwangyen king*, and later on into Tibetan *Rgya-tcher-rol-pa*. The differences are unimportant, as for instance in this case, the list amounts to 65 in these Chinese and Tibetan versions. The said Chinese version covers about 540 pages of text.⁵

An earlier text of the same work had been previously translated three times into Chinese, in *circa* 250, 308 and 427 A.D. under the title of *P'u-yao king*, but the first and third of these were already lost in 730 A.D.⁶ The second, which is still in existence, covers about 360 pages of text, namely, one-third less than the version of 685 A.D. in the same edition of the Buddhist Tripitaka.⁷ The third century⁸ A.D. would be therefore the earliest period

1 The *Lalita-visita* is neither a poem nor a prose text. Mr. Ph. Ed. Foucaux evaluates the proportion of prose to three-fifths of the whole work. The other two-fifths are some sort of *gathas*, or popular verses interspersed with the prose text, and always introduced in support of the latter. The distinction between prose and verse is carefully preserved in the Chinese translations.

2 Gautama the Buddha, also called Sâ-kyamuni, *i.e.*, the Monk of the Sâkyâ family.

3 By the Babu Rajendra Lal Mitra, in the *Biblioteca Indica*, N.S., No. 473. Cf. also Ph. Ed. Foucaux, *Rgya-Tcher-Rol-pa, ou développement des Feux* contenant l'histoire du Bouddha Cakya-Muni. traduite sur la version Tibétaine du Bkah Hgyour et revu sur l'original sanscrit (*Lalita-vistara*), 2 vols., Paris, 1847, 4-to; vol. ii., pp. 122-123. *Le Lalita Vistara*, traduit des sanscrit en français (in *Annales du Musée Guimet*, vol. vi., 1884), pp. 114-115. I have compared also the list with those of the two Chinese versions, *viz.*, in the *P'u yao king*, iii., 7, fol. 5, and in the *Fang kwang ta tchwang yen king*, bk. iv., fol. 6 (edit. Tripitaka, Nos. 159, 160), and I have noticed the variants of names when important, marking them A and B for these two works—in my *Beginning of Writing*, ii., 147, where the list is given in full with commentaries.

4 All the names given there may be classified under five heads. Referring to certain writings (1) of importance. (2) Of particular people or countries. (3) Of fabulous beings. (4) Of semi-mythical lands. (5) Implying peculiarities in the configuration of letters; cryptic or imaginative forms. The names of Brahmi and Kharôsti belong to the first of these classes.

5 In the Japanese edition of the Chinese Tripitaka at the India Office Library.

6 Bunyiu Nanjio, *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka*, Nos. 159, 160.

7 M. E. Senart, *La Légende du Bouddha*, p. 497, n. 4, has given an accurate summary of this work, says S. Beale, *The Buddhist Tripitaka*, p. 18.

8 That of 75 A.D., which is often repeated from the late Stan. Julien, was a confusion made by this scholar with another work. Cf. B. Nanjio, *Catalogue*, col. 380.

which the Chinese translations permit to be assigned for the composition of the ground-work of the *Lalita-vistara*. But it is possible to carry on our investigations further, and the short statement above quoted from the list of writings is an evidence of an earlier date, as we shall see presently.

3. The *Fu wan shu lin*, a Chinese Encyclopædia of Extracts from the Tripitaka, compiled in 668 A.D. by Tao-shi, reports a traditional legend attributing the invention of writing to three individuals: 1) *Fan* (or Brahma), who wrote from left to right; 2) *Kia-lu* (or *Kia-lu-she-to* for Karôshta), who wrote from right to left, and 3) *Tsang-hieh* (the Chaldean Dungi, as I have shown elsewhere), who wrote from top to bottom, and is the legendary inventor of the Chinese characters. Now the *Kia-lu* was transcribed variously,⁹ but explained by 𪚩𪚪, i.e. 'ass' lips' which is the meaning of *Kharôsti*, which name can be easily recognised in the complete Chinese rendering *Kia-lu-she-ti*. *Kharôsti* is the name of the man to whom the legend ascribes the introduction of astronomy into Chaldea, according to Armenian authorities.¹⁰

All this goes far to explain what the

Brahmi writing, and that of *Kharôsti*, above quoted from the *Lalita-vistara*, were in reality.

4. From the aforesaid association of the two names of the *Fan* and *Kia-lu* writings on the same footing, we may infer that this association belongs to the time when two writings were used simultaneously in India, namely, to the time of the Indo-Pali, and Bactro-Pali alphabets, their respective directions from left to right and from right to left, as explained by the Chinese legend, support this inference, which is suggestive in other respects.

5. In the short preamble which, in the later Chinese version of the *Lalita-vistara*,¹¹ precedes the enumeration of the 64 writings, *P'u-sat* 菩薩,¹² i.e. Bodhisattva, is made to take in hand the tablet of red sandal wood employed for the *T'ien-shu* or Divine writing, i.e. the Dêvanagari, and so far agrees with the present Sanskrit text. In the older Chinese version,¹³ which is that of an earlier text, this preamble is somewhat longer and especially interesting for the case in point. The *P'u-sat* takes in hand the golden pencil and the red sandal wood tablet; then the master (Viçvâmitra) states that there are two writings, that of *Fan*¹⁴ or Brahma, and

9 Chin. A.: 佉留 *Kiü-liu*: B: 佉盧風巽 *Kiü-lu-she-ti*. The first syllable is also written 𪚩 *kiä*.

10 The accuracy of the Chinese transcription and explanation does not permit our acceptance of the suggestion of Prof. Alb. Weber (*Indian Literature*, p. 248) assimilating the name to that of Kraushtuki, reputed in the *Atharva* (*Lit. C. Bl.*, 1869, p. 1497), to have arranged the constellations in the order beginning with *Krittika*.

11 *Fang Kwang ta tchwang yen kin*, bk. iv., fol. 5v.

12 Now *P'u-sa*, commonly used in China for all kinds of gods and idols.

13 *P'u yao king*, bk. iii., f. 4v.

14 梵 *Fan* (formerly *Bam*) for *Brahma*, as disclosed by Stan. Julien (*Méthode pour déchiffrer les noms Sanskrits dans les livres Chinois*, N. 281), who, however, has not understood the ingenious formation of this Chinese symbol of Buddhist make. The under character was *Bam*, and the upper one *lam* for *ram*; the two making *Bam-ram*, or better *B-ram*, according to the practice followed usually by the Buddhists in their Chinese transliteration of complex groups, which required the dropping of the last part of the first of two rhyming syllables.

that of *K'u-liu*, both equally good and not differing; but the *P'u-sat* retorts that there are in fact 64 different writings, and that he does not see why the master advocates only two sorts. From all that precedes, *Fan* was for the Brahman South Indian writing running from left to right. *K'u-liu* was for *Kiu-lu-she-ti* or Kharōsti, i.e. 'Ass' lips,' the writing running from right to left. These two names are here the designations of the Indo-Pali and Bactro-Pali; and their association on an equal footing goes far to show that the redaction of the text, where it occurs, belongs to the period when they were both in use, from the time of or before Aqoca (250 B.C.) to the first century of our era, when the traditions of the respective origins of the two writings were still fresh.

6. But in this name of *K'u-liu* and its meaning is hidden, I think, another valuable information concerning the primeval origin of this writing for the Hindus. Let us keep in mind the meaning 'ass' lips,' of its full form Kharōsti,¹⁵ and premise that this name, foreign to the Sanskrit onomastics, is a folk etymology, an Indian significant adaptation obtained in the striving-after-meaning of a foreign name,¹⁶ which name was probably no other than that of Kyros, the Kuras and Kurush of the Cuneiform inscriptions, the Khusrau of Persian history. The great conqueror had van-

quished Kræsos (554 B.C.) in fulfilment of the following prediction of the Pythoness of Delphi, whose oracle the Lydian King had just consulted :

“ When Media's King shall be a mule,
Soft-footed Lydian, by the pool
Of pebbly Hermos fly, nor stay
Nor dread the coward's name that day.'¹⁷

Now as Kyros was then looked upon as a mule, being the offspring of a Persian and his Median wife, the accomplishment of the prediction was certainly spread far and wide, in order to magnify his fame and inculcate a just apprehension of his advance as a conqueror.¹⁸

7. It was previously to 540 B.C. that Kyros extended his sway in the east, north and south, and subjected to his rule the regions bordering India on the north-west, and it is therefore from that date that the introduction into India of notions of civilization from the west became possible through the channel of the well-managed Persian monarchy.¹⁹ The knowledge and use of alphabetic writing, though limited as it may have been, because of the little demand for it in N.W. India, were certainly among the then introduced notions; and there is a great probability that in the name of the Kharōsti writing, running from right to left, as was that of the Persians, we find concealed the name of Kyros, introducer of the writing in India, and traces of his fabulous capacity of a mule or

15 Zend *Khara*; Afghan *Khar*; Pamir dialects *Khur*, &c.; Kurd, *Kerr*; Ossete *Charag*, &c., &c., same meaning. A. Pictet, *les origines Indo-Europeennes*, 1859, vol. i., p. 355. Dr. O. Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, 1883, p. 347.

16 We do not think necessary to insist here on this interesting fact known to every observer, that foreign proper names undergo gradually in current and popular speech, such alterations and adaptations that are required to make them significant.

17. *Herodot.* i 55, transl. Sayce.

18. G. Maspero, *Histoire ancienne*, p. 516. Prof. A. H. Sayce (*Muséon*, 1882, vol. i. p. 550) says: Cyrus was a Mardian, whose father Athadates was a brigand, and whose mother Argoste was a shepherdess of goats. Mirkhond, *History of the Early Kings of Persia*, transl. D. Shea, makes Khusrau son of Ferangiz, daughter of Afrasiab, the Turanian King, and of the Persian Siyawesh son of Kai Kaoos. Vid. pp. 226, 233.

19. These conquests of Kyros the Great were achieved previously to his conquest of Babylon, which took place on the 16th of June, 538 B.C. He conquered Media in 550 and Persia in 548 B.C.

ass; the motive of the former having been lost on the way, or found objectionable for the play which was made on the name of the Persian conqueror.

We shall return directly to the peculiarities concerning this Persian writing, but we must first examine with reference to the above explanation of an historical problem, the bearing of the Armenian tradition already reported. Kharôsti is said to have been the introducer of astronomy into Chaldea, a statement which, with the large allowance due to the Persian exaggeration, is by no means antagonistic to the identification of Kharôsti with Kyros. There is a growing feeling among Assyriologists, increasing with the progress of their science, that the ancient knowledge of astronomy in Chaldea was not worthy of its wide repute, and did not extend much beyond a notation of astronomical events. More sensible notions and better knowledge appear on the Cuneiform tablets of later times only. This would agree with an importation of astronomical lore by the Persian conquest. We are well aware that Kwarism on the east of the Caspian Sea was an old focus of astronomy, and that important progress in the science was made there. An adaptation of twenty-eight lunar mansions with the solar year was one of them, and it is most likely there also that the zodiacal signs were regulated. The Chorasmians used to reckon from the

beginning of the colonization of their country, 980 years before Alexander,²⁰ i.e. 1304 B.C. Kyros had subdued their country and incorporated it in his dominions, previous to his conquest of Babylon,²¹ and therefore their advanced knowledge in astronomy must have been carried there afterwards. The great Persian conqueror was an enlightened monarch, and was no doubt interested in the progress of science, if not himself acquainted especially with the science of Kwarism, inasmuch as the Chorasmian traditions report that his father Siyawesh had ruled over their country.²²

9. The Persians employed a Cuneiform writing from the time of Darius (521—485 B.C.), down to Artaxerxês Okhos (362 339 B.C.),²³ for monumental purposes. They had derived it²⁴ from the wedge characters of Assyro-Babylonia, and this derivation and adaptation to the requirements of their language has been rightly looked upon as an accessory proof of their having an earlier system of phonetic writing.²⁵ These older characters were traced on skins.²⁶ A tradition preserved by a very early and learned Arabic writer, Ibn-el-Nadîm, who is reputed to have had unusually good means of information as to genuine Persian traditions, ascribes the invention of Persian writing to Djamshîd, the son of Vivenghâm (who, with the Zoroastrians, was the Eponym of the Persian

20. Albiruni, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, transl. Sachau, pp. 40, 57, 172, 173, etc.

21. The same date occurs in India as that of the Jyotisha observation of the Colures, still in use in the Vedic rituals of India.—Edward Thomas, *Comments on recent Pehlvi Decipherments*, p. 18.

22. Albiruni, *l. c.*—The Siyawesh of tradition is apparently the Teispês or Chaish-paish of the Greeks, who ruled at Susa 600 B.C. But according to historians, Cyrus was not the son but the grandson of Teispês.

23. Prof. A. H. Sayce, *The Ancient Empires of the East*, pp. 438, 483.

24. It was neither an alphabet nor a syllabary, as some of the signs were syllabic. The total of the characters was 38 and odd. Cf. Dr. J. Oppert, *Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie*, vol. ii. 1851, p. 12; *Mélanges perses in Revue de Linguistique*, iv. pp. 205 206.

25. Prof. C. de Harlez, *Introduction à l'étude de l'Avesta et de la religion Mazdeenne*, p. 54.

26. Vid. the authorities in C. de Harlez *ibid*

race), and adds that he, Djamshid, dwelt at Assan, one of the districts of Tuster (modern Shuster).²⁷ We can dismiss this legend so far as the name of the inventor is concerned, as Djamshid, the sixth ancestor sovereign of Kyros, is attributed the authorship of everything useful and good in the Persian histories, such as that of Mirkhond. But we take it as meaning simply that the use of writing among the Persians was much older than the time of Kyros, i.e. some 150 years previously, or about 700 B.C.

10. Though no specimen of this ancient writing is known to be still in existence, as *Persian writing in Persia*, we may be sure that it was derived from the Shemitic stem, as we have elsewhere, I think, some remains and descendants from it which do not bear any other geneological ancestry.

There are three sorts of them, two of which are exemplified by single specimens, viz., from Southern Arabia, from Babylon, and from N. India.

11. A round and cursive writing, which reminds us of the Indo-Bactrian, and of

which neither the ancestry nor the progeny are known, occurs on the Sabæan coins from the fifth (?) century B.C. downwards.²⁸ These coins are trilingual, Greek, Musnad, and the writing unknown. Putting aside the Greek letters *A Θ E*, which are reproduced in imitation of the Athenian originals, there remain two genuine legends.²⁹ The Musnad characters, also called Himyaritic, give two words, *y-n-p* and *χ-l-d*, which I have recovered in the unknown letters with the help of the Indo-Bactrian alphabet, to which they are evidently related. The matter requires more extended explanations and a distinct enquiry, which space here precludes.³⁰

All that can be said is that this cursive writing must have been carried there by an extension of the Persian influence and probably conquest, under the rule of the Akhæmenides in Babylonia, i.e. after 538 B.C.

12. An unknown writing, which seems to fill up a much-wanted gap, has been found³¹ in 1882 on a contract clay-tablet at Babylon, dated in the 23rd year of

27. *Kitab-el-Fihrist*, p. 12, l. 22; Sir Henry Rawlinson, *Notes on a newly-discovered Clay Cylinder of Cyrus the Great*, p. 77 of *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* 1880, vol. xii. pp. 70-97.

28. Cf. Barclay V. Head, *Himyarite and other Arabian Imitations of Athenian Coins* (*Numismatic Chronicle*, n.s. 1878, vol. xviii. pp. 273-284); on a *Himyaritic Tetradrachm and the Tresor de Sanâ* (*ibid.* 1880, vol. xx. pp. 303-310). W. F. Prideaux, *On some Recent Discoveries in South-Western Arabia* (*Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* vol. i, 1873). G. Schlumberger, *Le Tresor de Sanâ* (Monnaies himyaritiques), Paris, 1880, 4to. The most important work on the history of the region is that of Dr. D. H. Müller, of Vienna, *Burgen und Schlosser Sudarabiens*, parts i. and ii.

29. Dr. Mordtmann, in his *Neue himyarische Munzen*, p. 299 (*Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Wien, 1881), has proposed a decipherment with the aid of the early Pehlvi in reading the legend topsy-turvy! Besides the incongruity of this process, there is an insuperable objection to read an inscription with a writing of a distant country seven centuries afterwards.

30. M. J. Halevy (*Journal Asiatique*, 14 Jan. 1881) has remarked that the coins must be called Sabæan and not Himyaritic, as they belong to a period previous to the Himyaritic dynasty. Caussin de Perceval (*Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'islamisme*, vol. i. p. 63) says that this dynasty began in the first century before the Christian era. Cf. also Fr. Lenormant, *Lettres Assyriologiques*, vol. ii. p. 13.

31. By Mr. T. G. Pinches, of the British Museum, who then showed it to me. He has since published a facsimile of the whole tablet, and a translation of the Cuneiform text, in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Archaeology*, 3 April, 1883,

Artakshatshu (Artaxerxes). Besides twenty-three lines of Cuneiform writing, it contains one line and several strips of unknown characters, more or less clearly traced, some forty in number. Their characteristics are rounded forms and apparent combinations of signs, two traits similar to the Indo-Bactrian alphabet³² in contradistinction to the pointed forms and individual isolation of the characters in the Aramæan alphabets. Some of the characters on the Babylonian tablet can be easily enough connected with the Indo-Bactrian letters and combinations.³³ From an attempt at decipherment which I did in March, 1882, with the two-fold aid of the Aramæan and Indo-Bactrian letters, and which disclosed notably words corresponding to several of the names of the witnesses mentioned in the cuneiform text, I thought and still think³⁴ that further investigation will show that this unknown writing furnishes the wanted link between the recognised Shemitic basis of the Indo-Bactrian writing and its antecedent.

Since my above remarks, and quite independently, these characters have been

looked upon by a great scholar³⁵ as belonging to a kind of cursive Persian writing.

Therefore all that represents most probably the oldest writing of Persia is a mere wreck.

13. The next remnants we have now to consider consists of the Bactro-Pali, or Aryan - Pali, or Indo-Bactrian alphabet, which represents a great advance on the preceding. The Aramæan basis of this alphabet, however remote, has never been doubted since its decipherment in 1837, but its immediate antecedent had never been found. I think that the above-quoted fragments represent this antecedent, and forming the link which was wanted, show it a regular descendant of the old writing of Persia.

This Indo-Bactrian alphabet is chiefly known as that of the inscription set up by the Maurya King Açoka, at Kapur di Giri, on the confines of India and Afghanistan in 251 B.C. There are altogether eleven other inscriptions of various lengths known in this writing,³⁶ besides the legends on coins of the Indo-Scythic Kings

32. It is worth noticing that the practice of monograms, where the principle of combination is carried to the utmost, by the pouring in of several characters into one, did not begin in Greece before the Persian period. I am indebted to Prof. Dr. Percy Gardner, of Cambridge and the British Museum, for the following note: "The earliest monogram, so far as I know, to be found on a Greek coin is <E (=EΛ) on a coin of Adessa, of about 480 B.C. (see *Cat. Gr. Coins, Macedon*, p. 37). But for a century after this they are very rare, and do not become usual until the time of Alexander the Great."

33. The late Dr. A. Burnell, in his last days, was made acquainted with this unknown writing by a rude tracing, which he was unable to study properly, and from which he fancied a connection with the Indo-Pali characters (*The Academy*, No. 528, 17 June, 1882), an opinion to which I most strongly object.

34. Cf. *The Oldest Book of the Chinese and its Authors*, § 25 n., *Jour. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* Oct., 1882, vol. xiv., p. 803.

35. Dr. J. Oppert, writing about this unknown writing, expressed it as his opinion that, "the 'unknown' characters are a kind of cursive Persian writing, and the name may be a Persian one. Several of the characters look like our Zendic characters; some others resemble Georgian, and one or two show Phœnician forms." (*Proceed. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, May 1, 1883.

36. Cf. *On a newly-discovered Bactrian Pali Inscription; and on other Inscriptions in the Bactrian Pali character*, by the late Prof. J. Dawson.

of Bactria.³⁷

14. It is a development of a former and simpler system; the number of characters have been multiplied, and their systematization, as well, has taken place undoubtedly in connection with that of the other Indian writing, that which is called Indo-pali, Lat Pali, or even South Agoka from the fact that it was also employed by the latter monarch for his engraved moral inscriptions.

15. To resume this paper, we may say that our investigations show the following result:—

The Kharosta writing mentioned in the *Lalita Vistara* was the Indo-Bactrian, and its name conceals a curious tradition, showing that (notwithstanding the changes and improvements it had undergone probably in the meantime) it was connected with the sway of Kyros the Great, established 540 B.C. on the northern confines of India.

T. DE LACOUPERIE.

37. On the latter vid. *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, by Prof. Dr. Percy Gardner (London, 1886).—I have shown reasons to believe that the Sulek or Soghlian writing of old was most probably derived from the Indo-Bactrian. Cf. my *Beginnings of Writing*, ii. §§ 169-172.

REVIEWS.

TRAITE DE MEDECINE MAZDIENE, traduit du Pahlavi et commenté, by L.C. Cosartelli, D.L.O., Louvain, 1886, 8vo. 51 pp. The author, who dates his pamphlet from Manchester, has reprinted separately his series of articles which have appeared in the *Muséon*, of 1885 and 1886. They begin by an introductory on the subject, and an analysis of what is found in the Avesta on the same matter. Then comes an analysis followed by a translation of the chapter of the Dinkart, which constitutes the *Traité*, and which the learned author looks upon as an old medical treatise remodelled and rewritten, based on the Avestic system, and presenting a tableau of the Iranian medicine at the Sassanian period. The paper is wound up by a few grammatical notes referring chiefly to faults and variants caused by the writing.

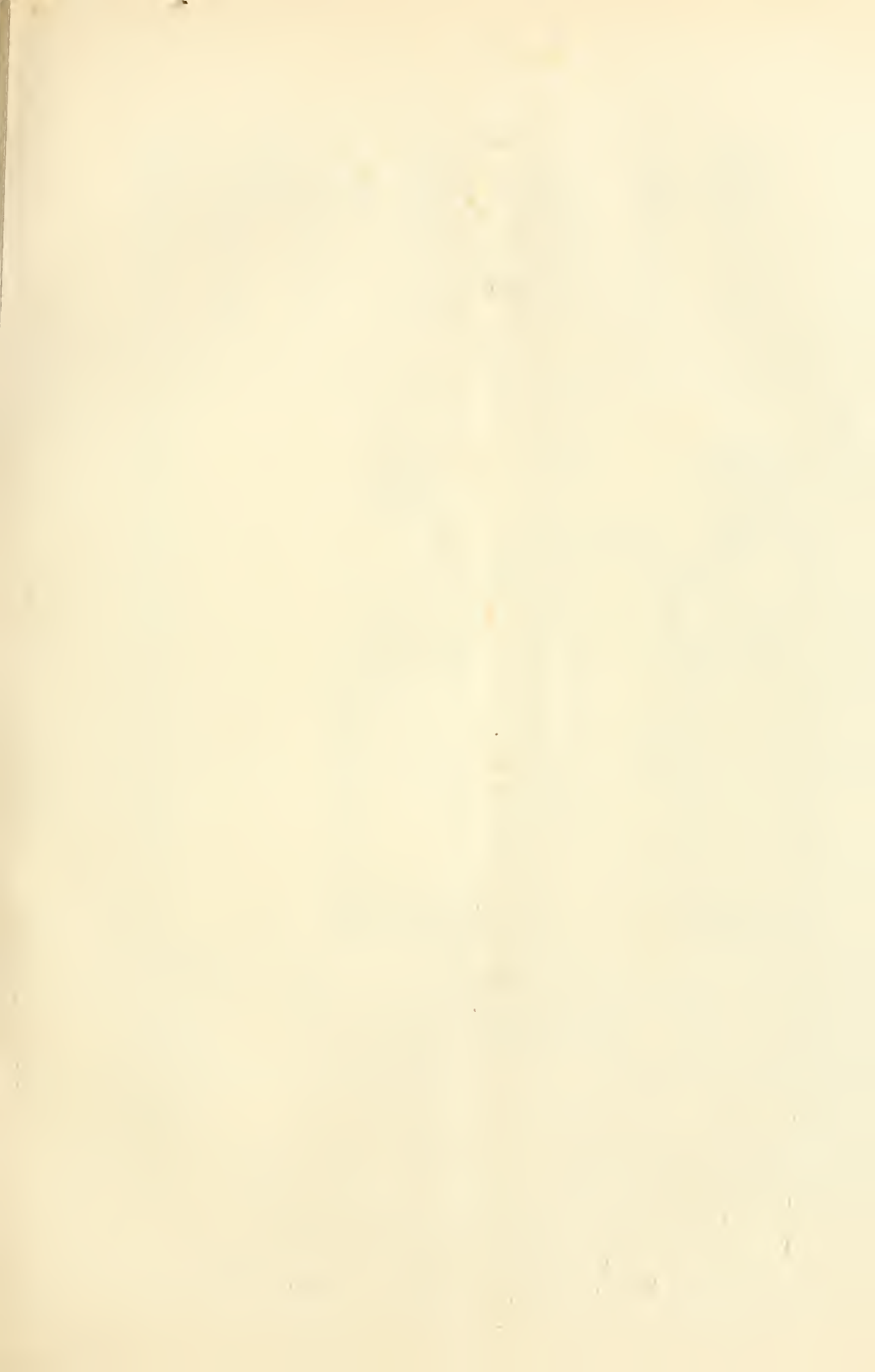
When did Babylonian Astrology enter China? by Rev. J. Edkins (*Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Dec., 7, 86. *Eastern spread of Chaldeans*, by the same (*The Academy*, Jan. 1, 87). The learned author, who writes from Peking, has collected in these papers some of his researches on the spread of Chaldean culture and thought to China at successive periods in ancient times, a task in which Prof. T. de Lacouperie and he have been engaged for some years.

RECENT WORK.—*Astrology in the Apocalypse; an essay on Biblical allusions to Chaldean science.* B. W. Gershaw Collingwood, M.A. Orpington, G. Allen, 1886. A work full of suggestions.—T. DE L.

NOTES, NEWS AND QUERIES.

A FACT which has been communicated to us by a kind and learned reader of the "B & O. R.," tends to confirm what I have said in the preceding number, concerning the four-eyed dogs of the Avesta. Miss Agnes Smith, of Kingston-on-Thames, writes me that she has a dog possessing the qualities of the magical animal of the Avesta. Covered as it is with a thick fur of a chestnut colour, this little dog has under its eyes spots of a bright yellow, resembling spectacles or *extra eyes*. Originally from Lapland, this animal, like those of the same kind, belongs to countries inhabited by Turanian peoples, Tartars, or the like races. This goes to prove that the origin of this superstition is not Aryan, still less Hindu, and that it has really for its foundation a fact of natural history, and not a myth.—C. DE HARLEZ.

[In the translation of Dr. de Harlez's article in last number, "The Four-Eyed Dogs of the Avesta," we regret that at page 38, col. 1, last line but one, the phrase occurs "to save them from the teeth, etc." It should have been the opposite, "to deliver them to the teeth, &c."—ED.]





INSCRIPTION OF NABU-APLA-IDDINA. (p. 65.)

THE
BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

The Editorial Committee is not responsible for the opinions or statements of the Contributors.

A BABYLONIAN LAND GRANT.

In the beautiful tablet recording the restoration of the temple of the Sungod in the city of Sippara by Nabu-apla-iddina, king of Babylon, in his 31st year, the king makes special mention of the fact that the carrying out of his benefactions to the temple and the annual presentations of offerings, sacrifices, robes for the gods, was entrusted to a commission of Babylonian officials of which Nabu-iddina-šuma was the head. The king thus describes the appointment "*Kalu VI lubusti dankati sakal satti nadan šarri ša (Ilu) šamas (Ilu) Ai u (Ilu) Sernene Nabu-apla-iddina šar Babilu (DIX-TIR-KI) ana Nabu-iddina-šuma šangu (ΣII) (✚) Sippar nis gaš-šu (→) arad šu irin.*" In all, six beautiful robes the tale of, the year the gift of the king for Samas, Ai and Sernene, Nabu-apla-iddina king of Babylon to Nabu-iddina-šuma the priest of Sippara the *gaššu* his servant he has given, (W.A.I., pl. 61, col. VI, 5-13). The fuller genealogy of this man is given in another part of the inscription, and reveals to us an important fact regarding the hereditary character of certain official positions in Babylonia. In this same tablet we learn that in the reign of an early Babylonian king *E-ulbār-šakin-šuma*, (ΣII) (≡) (✚) (▼) (≡), the

work of restoration of certain portions of the temple was entrusted to *Ekur-šuma-ibašši*, (Y) (ΣII) (≡) (≡) (≡) (≡) (≡) (≡), priest of Sippara, the *gaššu*. This restoration took place about B. C. 1140, and from the same tablet we find that the priest, *Nabu-iddina-šuma*, (Col. I. 29 - 31), whom the king Nabu-apla-iddina appointed his executor about three centuries later, was a member of this family, his genealogy being given as of the seed *ina šeri* (→) (✚), *Ekur-šuma-ibašši*. This indicates that the priesthood, and the office of *gaššu* whatever that post may have been, was hereditary in the family of *Ekur-šuma-ibašši*.

Among the tablets in the British Museum is a very fine inscribed stone, on which is a land-grant by Nabu-apla-iddina, to a man named Nabu-apla-iddina, son of Adnâi, to whom had been entrusted the charge of the king's statue. This document which is dated on "the 20th day of Nisan, in the 20th year of the reign of Nabu-apla-iddina king of Babylon," is, therefore, eleven years earlier than the Aboo-Hubba tablet; and a comparison of the witnesses affords additional proof of the hereditary character of certain official posts.

WITNESSES.

Tablet, 20th year.

1. Bel-šuma-ibni, son of Raba-sa-Marduk, prefect of Nisîn.
2. Akhi-irbi, son of Kirban the *kalu*.
3. Nergal-usibi, son of Tambasada the priest (*sangu*).
4. Marduk-umzîr, son of the same, the chief of the laud.
5. Irba-marduk, son of Arad-Hea, the chief of the prefects, (*niš bel-pikhati*).

Tablet, 31st year.

2. Marduk-šuma-ukin, son of Kirban, the *kalu*.
3. Ibašši-ilu, son of Hea-irimani, the priest.
4. Marduk-umzîr, son of Tambasada the chief.
5. Marduk-balatsu-iḫbi, son of Arad-Hea, the chief of the prefects.

Thus we see that, during the eleven years that elapsed between the drawing up of these two documents, changes had taken place in the offices of *kalu*, priest, and chief of the prefects, and in every case in the same family. The house of Kirban (𒊕𒍪 𒊕𒍪) seems to have been an influential one in North Eastern Mesopotamia, for, from the tablet of Nebuchadnezzar I., (B. C. 1150 W.A.I. V, 56-59), we find that *Bel-nadin-šuma*, son of Kirban, was governor of Namar or Kurdistan, a post which also seems to have been hereditary; for in that remarkable charter the following passage occurs (Col. II, 26): "In future days, whosoever among the sons of Kirban, or anyone else, to the governorship of Namar shall be appointed;" which seems to indicate that a sort of priority of claim was vested in the family of Kirban.

The tablet of the 20th year, which is marked with the British Museum register numbers 83.1. 18, is of black marble, ($4\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in.), inscribed on either side with thirty-two lines of writing, the text on the lower part of the obverse being slightly mutilated. On the obverse is a small sculptured plaque, in which, as is usual in the case of these land grants, is a representation of the chief contracting parties, here Nabu-apla-iddina the king, and Nabu-apla-iddina, the son of Adnâi. The former is represented as holding in his hand the long staff, his emblem of office, and wearing on his head a pointed helmet, while his servant, Nabu-apla-iddina, stands before him with hand raised in token of reverence; behind each of the figures we have short ex-

planatory descriptions:

1. *Zalam D.P. Nabu-apla-iddina apil D.P. Adnâi* (𒊕𒍪 𒊕𒍪 𒊕𒍪 𒊕𒍪).
The statue of Nabu-apla-iddina, son of Adnâi.
2. *Zalam D.P. Nabu-apla-iddina šarru*.
The statue of Nabu-apla-iddina the king.

The text on the obverse is somewhat obliterated, but the transliterated version appended to this paper indicates the broken portions. The genealogy of Nabu-apla-iddina remains: "Nabu-apla-iddina, son of Adnâi, descendant (lip-pal-pal) of Agar-Nabu", the priest (*tumal*).

We then read: "Nabu-aqla-iddina, the king of glorious form" (*buni namrutî*), favourably had regarded Nabu-apla-iddina, son of Adnia, and three *gur* of cornland (*se-zir*), in an enclosure measured by the great cubit; "the boundaries being: "The upper side on the East a boundary is fixed by Gula-zer-baša, the šukha, the lower side on the West, a boundary is fixed by the land which Zer-ya, son of Agar-Nabu had bought. The upper headland on the South. the bank of the Euphrates and the lower headland on the North, is the river Maše; in all three *gur* corn land in an enclosure measured according to the great cubit and five gardens (*k'rietî*), the land of Bit-Adnia, Nabu-apla-iddina king of Babylon, to Nabu-apla-iddina son of Adnâi, and his servant has given." The names of the witnesses whom I have already enumerated are appended, and the date "Month Nisan, 20th day, 20th year of Nabu-apla-iddina, king of Babylon." The river Maše (𒊕𒍪 𒊕𒍪) was probably one of the small canals situated between Sippar and the Euphrates.

TEXT, TRANSCRIBED AND TRANSLATED.

1. D. P. *Nabu-apla-iddina apil Adnâi lip-pal-pal* (𒊕𒍪 𒊕𒍪 𒊕𒍪) Nabu-apla-iddina, son of Adnâi, descendant of
2. D.P. *Agar* (𒊕𒍪 𒊕𒍪) D.P. - *Nabu tumal* D.P. *Nabu-apla-iddina*
Agar - Nabu, the priest. To Nabu-apla-iddina,
3. *Šar bêt-šu* *it-ma um[ma]*. ...
the king his lord ... he spake thus:
4. *Êklu bit abi[ya]* (𒊕𒍪) *urad* (𒊕𒍪 𒊕𒍪) *bit abi-ya*
The field of the house of my father to ... the servant of the house of my father
5. *ana abli* (𒊕𒍪) *gi - ib*
to the sons of ... has passed [?]
6. *Šarru itadin* u *rikhi* (𒊕𒍪 𒊕𒍪) *ekli bit - abi-ya*
the king has given. The increase of the field of the house of my father

7. Šar *li-ri-man-ni* *bit abiya*
The king may he grant me the house of my father,
8. *ana zi-it-ti la us-ši*
for a possession not passing away.
9. *Nabu-apla-iddina šar ina būni namruti*
Nabu-apla-iddina, the king "of glorious form,"
10. *ānū Nabu-apla-iddina apil Adnāi khadis*
On Nabu-apla-iddina, son of Adnai favourably
11. *ippalis ma šalastī Gur SE-ZER ina gani*
looked, and Three GUR of arable land in an enclosure,
madid [AS] ana ammatu rabū
measured according to the great cubit,
12. *emid [US] elis D.P. Šīdū emidu [US-SA-DU]*
The upper boundary on the East is fixed
13. D.P. D.P. *Gula-zer-basa nis su-kha*
by (the property of) Gula-zer-basa the sukha ;
14. *emid saplis D.P. Akharru emidu*
the lower boundary on the West is fixed
15. D.P. *Zer-ya abil Nurea, abil Nabu-elu-zera*
by the [property] of Zerya, son of Nurea [from] Nabu-elu-zera,
16. *abil Agar-Nabu i-sa-mu*
son of Agar-Nabu, has bought.
17. *Sak-ki elis D.P. Šātu akhi nar Pur-rat-ti*
The upper end on the South is the bank of the Euphrates.
18. *Sak-ki saplis D.P. Itanu su nar Ma-se-e (≡|| ≡≡≡)*
The lower end on the North is the bank of the river Masē ;
19. *kalu šalastu GUR SE-ZER ina gani madid ana*
In all, THREE GUR of corn land, measured according to
ammatu rabū
the great cubit,
20. *u khamišti kiviēti (≡| ≡≡≡ ≡≡≡) ekil bit Adnāi*
and five gardens, the field of Bit-Adnāi,
21. *Nabu-apla-iddina šar Babilu*
Nabu-apla-iddina, king of Babylon,
22. *ana Nabu-apla-iddina apil D.P. Adnāi ārād šu i-ri-mu*
to Nabu-apla-iddina, son of Adnāi, his servant, he has given.
23. *Ina kanak duppi (≡≡≡≡) šuatu*
For the sealing (attesting) of this tablet,
24. D.P. *Bel šuma ibni apal D.P. Raba-sa-Marduk*
[by] Bel suma-ibni, son of Raba-sa-Marduk,
25. [*nīs*] *šalat NISIN*
Prefect of Nisin,
26. D.P. *Akhi-irba apil D.P. Kirban[nīs] kalu*
Akhī-irba, son of Kirban, the Kalu,
27. D.P. *Nergal-usībši apal D.P. Tambasada [nīs] šangu*
Nergal-usībši, son of Tambasada, the priest,
28. D.P. *Marduk-umzer apil [nīs] šaku mati*
Marduk-umzer, son of the same, chief of the district,
29. D.P. *Irba-Marduk apil D.P. Arad-Ilea nis bel pikhati*
Irba-Marduk, son of Arad-Ilea, chief of the prefects ;

30. *is-sa-as Babilu Arakh Nisannu um XX [Kan],*
it is established Babylon, month Nisan, 20th day,
31. *Šattu (MU-AN-NA) Nabu-apli-iddina š.r Babilu.*
20th year of Nabu-apla-iddina king of Babylon.
32. *Duppu ša šiprēti*
Tablet which is written.

W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN.

ST. JOHN VII. 38, ILLUSTRATED BY A BABYLONIAN SEAL.

In his interesting article on the Babylonian Seal (fig. 1), depicted in the last number, Mr. Thomas Tyler called attention to the "new and unexpected light" which it has thrown upon an "obscure passage in the Old Testament." I should like to point out how it illustrates an equally obscure text in the New Testament. The passage to which I refer is, John VII., 38.—"He that believeth on Me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ shall flow rivers of living water." These words, as is well known, have proved a source of perplexity to expositors of the New Testament, from the fact that, although Jesus utters them with the *formula citandi*, no such sentence is to be found in any Canonical book of the Old Testament, nor yet in the Apocrypha. It would be out of place here to enter into a discussion of the various suggestions that have been made with a view to meet the difficulty. Probably the best suggestion that has been advanced is, that Christ regarded the thought rather than the words as the essence of the quotation in this particular instance. It is not the strict καθὼς γέγραπται, but καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή, words which may, without any forced interpretation, be understood as meaning, "according to the Scriptural expression." And a similar figurative reference to rivers of living water, we find, over and over again, in the Old Testament. But, even admitting this, the fact remains that the allusion here is

to a great extent different from that in the Old Testament passages which are usually quoted in connection with the subject.

In such places as Isaiah xiv. 3, viii, 11, the reference is to a spiritual refreshment in the soul of the individual believer. And in this sense Christ applies the same figure in Chap. iv., v. 14 of the Gospel. Here, however, the reference is no longer exclusively personal. The believer in Christ has become, in his turn, a source of refreshments to others. From him the quickening influence flows forth like the streams of a fertilising river.

Kuinoel cites, in illustration of this passage, two Rabbinical sayings: "When a man turneth unto the Lord, he shall be as a fountain of living water, and his streams shall flow to all the nations and tribes of man." And again—"His two reins are like fountains of water from which the Law flows." This last passage is singularly illustrated by the drawing (fig. 1) from Dr. Ward's seal, where a double stream of water would seem to be flowing from the reins of the god. It is clear that in the passage from the fourth Gospel, Jesus is making use of symbolism with which not only the Jews but other Orientals also were familiar. It would be interesting to know whether the deity Hea was regarded, like Poseidon, both as ruler of the waters and the source of fertility. The symbol of the water flowing out would seem to imply this.

W. A. HARRISON.

IRANIAN STUDIES.—II.

THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE PAHLAVI.

(Continued from p. 54.)

A. Ammian Marcellin says, lib. xix, 2, 11, of his history, that the Persians called their king (Sapor III) shaansha and *pirozés* (victorious). They conclude from that, that the words *markân markâ* were never pronounced, but were read *Shahân shah*.

We can understand how this argument might be pled at the time when the Pahlavi was held to be an ordinary language, mixed, like the English. But what we cannot conceive is that it should be repeated today. The Huzvaresh has manifestly never been spoken; or if it ever has been, it was certainly not by the army and the Persian people. It has never been a national language. The ordinary formula was, without contradiction, *Shahân shah*, and not *markân markâ*, when even that might have existed in the language of the educated classes. By the same argument we could prove that the Latin legends of the Middle Ages were not pronounced, because the French and German soldiers did not call their sovereigns *Fraucorum rex* or *Germanorum imperator*. What we say here applies equally to the explanation of another fact, from which they likewise reason, to account for the complete disappearance of Aramean terms from geographical nouns in which we see them figure, in *Kárnâmeh* and elsewhere. Once more, the usual names have nothing in common with the *Huzvaresh* and those alone remain; the artificial creations of books never could have anything but a passing existence, and are confined to the place where they were used.

B. The second evidence is the well-known text of *Kitâb al Fihrist* which we reproduce in order to render the point in dispute more simple. "The Persians," says the Arab author of this book, "have a system of forming syllables,⁴ in which the letters are written, joined and separate.⁵ There are in this system about a thousand words (which serve to distinguish words that are alike.) E. g., if any one were going to write *gôsh* (Iranian), he wrote *bisryâ*, and pronounced it *gôsh*. They thus write, according to this system) anything they desire. There are none except the words which are not suitable for this exchange which they write according to the pronunciation." This passage is certainly obscure in its explanations. What are those *like* words which this system teaches to distinguish, and how is this distinction made? Why are certain words suitable to be subjected to this exchange, and others not? It would be impossible to answer these questions. Nevertheless, what seems perfectly clear is that at the time the *Fihrist* was written, and even sooner, perhaps at the end of the eighth century, the Aramean words served for no other purpose than writing, and that the Iranians read everything in Persian. The fact is incontestable and uncontested. But if this usage did prevail at that period, can we affirm that it was the same at the origin? Evidently not. The change supervening on the sacred language of Sassian Persian is perfectly explained; its date and its origin are known;⁶ but what will always remain inexplicable is

4) We willingly admit that *hijâ* refers commonly to spelling, to speaking and not to writing; but here it ought to be otherwise since the author says: 'After this *hijâ* they write the letters joined or separate.' They did not write after a system of spelling, it seems to us.

5) It is a question of the Pahlavi ligatures used as much for Persian as for Aramean words.

6) We shall give further some details on this subject.

that the Persians could, from the beginning, have taken some Aramean words (entire and intact) only for the show, and intermingle these with some words of their own language, written as they were read, and that in the name which has been explained above. We remark that often a single and same word is formed from two heterogeneous elements, of which the one would be read as it was written, and the other quite differently. E. g., *ustāno yadman*.⁷

To support what is called the purely figurative system, they have naturally sought in history for facts analogous to those which this thesis has for fundamental principles, and many think they have found three. The first consists in those abbreviations which are used in English to designate weights, measures, monetary values, &c. It is unnecessary to discuss this proof. There is plainly no connection between the use of signs intended to shorten the work of writing, signs without any value of their own, representing only the words referred to, and an entire system consisting of a use of the words of a foreign language, complete and written in all the letters, simply to recall the usual terms. Far from facilitating the labour of the scribe, the use of the Aramean words served rather to increase it; for the words are frequently longer than their Iranian correspondents. (Cf. *yadman* and *dast*, *karbā* and *sag*, *yāityāntano* and *matano*, &c., &c.) One of the two facts is as natural as the other is little so; let us pass on then.

The two other cases of analogy are furnished by the Assyrian and Japanese. The

Assyrian sought to write Akkadian, and the Japanese, Chinese; both of these peoples made use of words in the languages of their masters to represent those of their own idiom. It was thus the Persians did in the school of the Semites; the cases are exactly the same. That is what they say of it. The fact is, the processes are really analogous, *in appearance*, only so long as we consider them quite superficially; but whenever we examine them closely, the analogy disappears, and we find nothing more than irreducible cases.

The graphical processes of the Assyrian and Japanese are quite other than those of the Pahlavi; they are essentially different.

The Sumerian (?) characters which the Assyrians first used were, in general, ideographic. Thus, to write "month" the Assyrians drew a sort of circle representing the disc of the sun, and, in the centre of the circle the number 30, recalling the number of the days in the month. Three triangles touching each other at one of the points symbolize the idea of division, and, with the help of different readings, *mat*, *sat*, *kur*, &c., represent "country, mountain, hand." The ideograms, picturing objects and not sounds, could naturally serve for all languages.

The Chinese writing, being also ideographic in principle, is easily adapted to the expression of Japanese words. Besides, the Japanese have had recourse to a system entirely unknown to the peoples of Western Asia. The Chinese words being monosyllabic, each of them serves to render a Japanese exactly as in our *rebus* the signs for the musical notes represent syllables, the notes *do* and *re*, e. g.,

7) M. Darmesteter, holding fully to this opinion in his learned *Iranian Studies*, appeals farther to the forms *ābitar abitan*, and above all *gabrāum*. This last word is significant. It evidently cannot be anything but a graphical substitute for *martum*. But it there describes a manner of slow writing which was not employed except at the period when the Pahlavi had become a real series of figures.

M. D. sees also in the ζ read *ye* in certain Pahlavi Aramean verbs the first letter of the corresponding Persian words and the letter *da*. I should have difficulty in expressing myself as of that opinion. This use of the first letter of the Persian word would be too exceptional to be admitted with certainty. The explanation is, besides, not applicable to many words such as *yedruulāno* = *bārdan yemūūritano* = *mārtan*. *yensabūntan* = *silādun*, &c., &c.

signifying *do, re*. In the same manner, when the Japanese wish to write *fumite*, a pencil, they take three Chinese words (monosyllabic) whose sounds come closest to Japanese sounds: *pu-mei-thi*. We see that this process is exactly the reverse of that adopted by the Persians. With the Japanese the Chinese sounds alone are taken into consideration; and if they used Chinese characters, it was solely because of the sense arbitrarily assigned to them. It is to have the three sounds *pu, mei, and thi*, that the Japanese borrow from the Chinese the signs representing these words. The Pahlavi does quite the reverse; it uses Aramean characters to represent sounds altogether different from those which these letters naturally indicate. E, g., the word *lilyâ* would be written in all the letters chosen originally to read *shap*.

Besides, as the Chinese fundamental characters did not represent the sounds, it was easy to give them the pronunciation suitable to the purpose in view. The Chinese, moreover, having made for themselves a system of writing which could be used for all dialects, the same word could be read *pay* or *hu*, while retaining the meaning "father."

All these Assyrian, Chinese, or Japanese usages are perfectly natural; the ideograms help all the readings. But nothing of this kind exists in the Pahlavi.

The Semitic words which form part of its vocabulary are written in alphabetical characters. All the Semitic letters are found even when they are disfigured in the ligatures. We suppose then that the Iranians, in learning from the Semites the art of writing, have taken no account of the alphabet of their masters, and have sought to pronounce the Semitic words without troubling themselves in the very least concerning the value of the letters—taking them as indivisible figures to represent Iranian words. The Persians in using such terms as 𐬀𐬀 , 𐬀𐬀𐬀 knew quite well that they wrote all its letters including the *a*, *lukum pîr man*; and recognised these letters since they used them to render the Iranian suffixes. Who can explain, then, why they should have pre-

ferred the use of arbitrary signs to render, e, g., *tân* (you), *dahân* (mouth) to that of the proper letters to represent these words?

All this is very unlikely.

This supposition, inadmissible in itself, is at the same time contradicted by the best established historical facts. The Cuneiform Inscriptions show us the Persian in the school of the Semites. Now, we see here that the Persians, far from adopting the Semitic words as representing Iranian, created for themselves an alphabet agreeably to the phonetic laws of their tongue—a writing exclusively appropriated to the Persian language. By what marvellous phenomenon could they at a later time have fallen to such a degree of ignorance, that they should have taken Aramean words written phonetically for simple ideograms?

This system of explanation rests at the outset on an inadvertence. In order that this should be true, the Pahlavi would require to be the most ancient language which has ever been written. Now, it is impossible to carry the date of its origin further back than the middle age of the Arsacides. The Persians wrote their language, with its own alphabetical characters, already under Cyrus; and yet they were to owe, after Alexander, their knowledge of the art of writing to their neighbours of the West?

We know, besides, from the testimony of Herodotus, of Ctesias, and from the book of Esther, that the Achimennan kings had in their service scribes who wrote on parchment both their decrees and annals. We have treated this point elsewhere; it will be sufficient to refer to the texts. See Herodotus, III, 128. IV. 91. V. 58. VII, 100. VIII, 90.; Esther IV, 8, VI, 1-2. VIII, 8; Diodorus Sic., II, 32.

We cannot reasonably suppose that the translation of the Avesta had been put into writing before the text itself. Now, if the Avestic words were written in their own characters, why should ideograms have been necessary to write the Pahlavi words?

The supposition on which this system is

founded would be admissible, if the primitive Pahlavi contained only Semitic words.

We could understand that the Persians would have used Semitic words thus if they had done so in a complete manner. They would have been obliged to do so in that case, because they were incapable of writing their own language. But the most ancient Pahlavi already contained a mixture of written Semitic and Iranian words. There are likewise some which are nothing but Persian words (See BLAU, *De numis Achemenidorum*, p. 5, B. class I ; p. 7, class IV). Thus the legend on the medal or coin of Abd Zoharû, satrap of Cilicia, which we have assigned to the last days of the Achimeneses, bears these words : *mizdî zî val* A. Z., that is to say, a Persian word *mizd*, and two Semitic words *zî val*. If the Persians knew how to write the word *mizd* (pay), how were they incapable of writing the relative and the preposition of tendency? how, besides, could they have wished to give themselves the trouble of acquiring a system of writing so complicated and so difficult, since they knew how to write their national words? In *mizdî zî* the first *z* and the first *î* have their own value and natural sound; in *zî*, on the contrary, they would do nothing but represent *hya*! Is that likely?

Thus some authors abandon this rather untenable ground, or betake themselves to another kind of proof. According to them, the influence of a powerful sacerdotal body was sufficient to impose upon Persian this very inconvenient mode of expression, and the Magi, who were this privileged body, created the Huzvaresh, to make their sacred books unintelligible to the profane. They rest their opinion on the final text of Yesht IV, which prescribes the secret relating to its contents. This hypothesis is equally untenable. We could admit it up to a certain point, if the Pahlavi had not been employed except in religious treatises, but it was used also for royal proclamations, and for the legends on coins. Can we suppose the Persian monarchs would thus desire not to be comprehended by their subjects? And did the satrap of Cilicia not

intend that he should be understood by his satellites to whom he gave pay, or by his subordinates on whom he imposed tribute? Was he willing that they should comprehend the word "pay" (or "tribute"), *mizd*, and the name of their governor; but did he wish them to remain ignorant of the sense of the preposition "for" which united these two terms (*val*)? Would this not have been an inexplicable childishness?

They forget that the Huzvaresh is older than the advent of the Mazdian monarchy of the Sassanians; that they have already proved its existence under the Arsacides; and that at that time the Magi were not in a position thus to impose their will upon Iran.

The means, moreover, were altogether wrong to obtain the end in view. The introduction of Pahlavi words might well disconcert the vulgar, but not the educated classes of Semitic origin. Now if the Magi thought to conceal their doctrines, it would have been above all from their fellow-citizens of foreign (Semitic) race; Semitic words were, surely, not fit for this purpose.

We see, besides, the Sassanian monarchs setting forth their beliefs in their writings, and designing to impose them on the East. Let them read in Eliseus the edict of Yezdejerd II, and they will see if the Magi sought to conceal their doctrines. All the manifestations of public life in Persia at this period are produced by means of the Pahlavi; it is the mode of writing royal inscriptions, money legends, &c.; is there in that the character of a tongue for religious mysteries? Certainly not.

Yesht IV cannot be cited to corroborate the argument. In that passage there is no question of the Mazdian law, but of a magical formula, the property of a family. The text says: "Do not communicate this *manthra* except to a father, a son, a brother, or a domestic priest." It would be a very curious thing if the Avesta prescribed the non-instruction in its precepts to any but the nearest relatives, and to keep them secret from all other Mazdians who knew them perfectly. An interdiction like this would be laughable;

it was therefore impossible. The Avesta, moreover, exhorts its believers, above all, to propagate the holy law, to make it known; which is, doubtless, quite the reverse of prescribing the secret. This, then, only concerns the magical formulas belonging to a family. All the reasons adduced in favour of the exclusively figurative system are, therefore, insufficient; and the Pahlavi, as to its formation, remains unexplained.

But we have hitherto looked only at the negative side of the question. Let us see if the examination of the facts will not furnish us with probable, if not certain, indices of the true nature of the Huzvaresh, or the Aramean part of the Pahlavi writing. Let us enquire into all, or at least the principal, features which may help to a solution. Of these the most important seem to me:

1. The date of the origin of the Pahlavi can scarcely be carried as far back as that of the last days of the Achemenian monarchy. The language which forms its essential part is the same middle-Persian which was spoken and written in the middle of the Middle Age. It is going far enough to admit for it an existence anterior to the conquests of Alexander. It is not probable that this mixture of Aramean and Iranian writing should have been made before this period. Earlier, moreover, they would have used the Assyrian idiom which had penetrated into the Persian; and that was not before this. It is, therefore, certain that the Pahlavi had been formed at the time when the Persians already possessed an alphabet suited to their language, and which they had created for themselves. The use of Semitic words as a means of writing was useless and quite impossible.

2. The Pahlavi was not, in its Semitic part, a uniform language. We distinguish three or four kinds of it, especially what is called the Sassanian Pahlavi, the Chaldean Pahlavi, and the Pahlavi of the manuscripts. These three dialects, if we can qualify them so, are principally represented by the inscriptions of *Hajjábád* and of *Nakhi-Rustem*, and by the Parsee manuscripts. The Persian

words used in these three classes of monuments are naturally the same, but the foreign terms designating the same objects and the same ideas are altogether different, and give evidence of a multiple origin. Let us quote as an example the commencement of the inscriptions A and B of *Hajjábád*. We see *tagabáhí, ápan, hatyá, levíní*, corresponding to *Karzavání, rdan, hararyá*, and *qadmatman* of the second; similarly *regelman* = *nagalín, hanakhtán* = *haqátmút*, &c. &c.

This simple fact places before our eyes several particulars:

1. In the Pahlavi of the Sassanians the words have not always flexional Persian forms; *hanakhtán*, e. g., and many other words in the following lines are entirely unprovided with them. (see *hanitán, ramítán, hómán*). There are, therefore, no Semitic radicals (for the show), with Persian suffixes, as has been asserted, and as is necessary to the purely figurative system.

2. The corresponding words of the two inscriptions have not the same suffixes;—cf. *levíní*, and *qadmatman, regelman, nagalín*, &c.—which would be equally indispensable.

3. If the exotic words were only used to represent the Iranian words, can we believe that the Persians would at this point have created difficulties and would have accumulated them at pleasure, by taking the exclusively figurative terms of three or four different dialects? The phenomenon is on the contrary more simple if we suppose these parasites to have been admitted with their phonic force. It was natural to borrow the words from the best known language of the country where they were written. In the same manner, if ever the mania for using archaic terms had prevailed in France, the Roman Walloon would have been laid under contribution in the north, Provençal in the south-east, Gascon in the south-west.

We have seen by the foregoing that the Persians knew how to write when the Pahlavi was formed. On the other hand, the oldest monuments of this language presented already a mixture of heterogeneous words

which made for it its own character. How are we to believe that from the beginning these words had a value so different. Let us see a Persian busy with the work. He first wrote *phonetically* two or three words of his own language, and these were to be read just as they were written. Then he traced, phonetically also, alphabetically or all in the same letters, an Aramean word, e. g., 𐎧 𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎡 *yom*, 'day,' 𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎶 *lêlyâ*, 'night,' 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹 'bull.' That ought not to be pronounced; it is only there for the show, it must be replaced by the synonymous Persian word; and that without any object, for to the author the Semitic word was neither an ideogram nor an archaic term. He reads it perfectly, but he makes a complete abstraction of what he reads. He addresses himself to a reader who knows Aramean, for otherwise he would not be understood. He speaks Aramean to him, and, to him, that is to speak Persian. Further and better still. To a Persian verb he joins a Semitic prefix, he couples in the same compound two elements of different origin. E. g., *ustâno yadman*, 'who has the hands raised,' composed of the Avestic *ustâno*, 'raised,' 'lifted up,' and of the Semitic *yad(man)*. In a single phrase he presents us with the same words under the two forms. Thus in the Yaçna XXVIII, 11. c., *fratân*, 'at first,' is repeated under the Semitic form *avla*. In Yaçna XI *huzvâ* is so by the synonymous Aramean *liskâ*; and here, as in the inscriptions which have been spoken of above, the Semitic words never have the Iranian finals which would call for their explanation by simple figures. Thus the heterogeneous elements follow, intermingle with, and cross each other in a *pêle-mêle* of the greatest absurdities, some for reading, some for the show; and that without any assignable reason or object.

Again, let us put ourselves in the place of the reader. He may know Aramean well, or he may not know it well. In the former case he sees before him, after some words which he naturally reads, certain other forms

in which he sees, clearly and in their order, all the letters of words such as 𐎧 𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎡 'day' 𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎶 *lêlyâ*, 'night,' *gabrâ* 'man', &c. He reads there in spite of himself, *lêlyâ*, &c., but he puts a shade before his eyes that he may not perceive them, and pronounces mentally *roc*, *skap*, and *martum*. In the latter case, he has before him certain obscure forms, in which he easily recognises some letters familiar to him, yet to which he does not attribute any sound, but in which a written vocabulary has apprised him he should find certain ideographs recalling the corresponding Persian expressions, in spite of the alphabetical nature of the characters; this would have explained to the young Persian that 𐎧 was identical with 𐎧𐎡, that in the first he had not to disturb himself about the letters 𐎧, 𐎢 & 𐎡 which he has distinguished without difficulty, and that they have there no value, and ought to be read *roc*.

But this is not all yet.

In the legend of Parthian and Sassanian coins, *Malkân malkâ*, the Aramean subjects of the Persian empire could only read what they saw before them, written in all the letters: the foreign people in the Sassanian monarchy, the Semites, Greeks, Hindus and other neighbours of Persia came necessarily to use it in such a way that a Greek, a Lydian, a Cappodocian or any other person into whose hands one of these coins fell would be able to read it, if it bore, e. g., *Valgash malkâ* or *Tirdat malkân malkâ*. Was each piece accompanied by an instruction pointing out the true reading? How the letters *m*, *l*, *k*, *â*, were there only to be read *shah*?

It may be that some very distinguished scholars persuade themselves that this theory has some probability. For ourselves, we cannot admit it in any manner. Everything in it is against nature. The opposite supposition is, on the contrary, of the simplest kind. In all ages we have seen people borrow expressions from people more civilized than themselves, and mixing them with their own expressions, as if they made part of the national vocabulary.

Only one reservation is to be made here. The Huzvaresh has a special character which is not altogether without analogy, but which may be explained by the records. This point will be treated in a few moments; let us not anticipate lest we repeat ourselves.

They will ask, perhaps, if the Huzvaresh and the usage of the Persian are explicable on our hypothesis. To reply to this objection, we ought to consider the question in all its bearings. The origin, the formation and use of the Huzvaresh cannot be explained by the figurative thesis; their explanation is quite simple if ours be adopted. The fourth problem, the decline of the Aramean words, finds, it is true, a natural solution in a supposition flowing from the ideographic system, but it resolves itself in a manner quite as natural, and more historic, by the opposite system. But we shall once more seek to reconsider this discussion at the close of our study.

All that has been said hitherto has rendered more and more improbable the hypothesis of the ideographic origin of the Huzvaresh. The question would have made a decisive step if we could find in the language itself some signs indicating that the Huzvaresh was sometimes read. The doubt then no longer remains possible.

Now, we believe we have found these indices, and are able to point them out to our readers. The principal have furnished us with the following facts:

1. The Pahlavi alphabets are Armean in origin, but they have been specially adapted to an Iranian language. *L* and *R* are confounded as in Persian and Avestic. The aspirated gutturals have only one expression; it is impossible to distinguish the Semitic 𐎠𐎡 from 𐎢. In the same way *kol* and *qol* have only one expression, 𐎠 the Persian *K*, &c. The letters of the Aramean words require to be transformed so as to be capable of writing correct Pahlavi. It is therefore Persian which has been first written, the Armean comes only in the second and subordinate place.

2. In the greater number of Aramean words

the *Ain* is changed into *V*; e. g., *kevan* 'now' for *kehan*; *val* for *hal*, &c. How can we imagine that they would change the orthography of these words, that they would change it regularly, and that it was never pronounced?

3. Certain joinings of terms indicate clearly that the Huzvaresh words had their own reading. E. g., the Semitic prefix *lalá* corresponds to *uq*, 'on high,' 'upwards.' Now it is found before some words which have already the prefix *uq*; e. g., *lalá uqçtat tartushit*. If the Persians had read the Iranian word in place of the Semitic term they would have clearly perceived that in *uqçç* the same term was repeated twice, and they would have avoided that logomachy. (Fg. XIX, 11, 16).

In the version of the Avesta, *gâus*, 'ox', 'cow', is rendered in Iranian by *gocpend*: the corresponding Semitic word is *torá*. Now in Fargard II. 100, we find *torá gocpend*. If *torá* were nothing but an ideogram representing *gocpend*, did the Persians then read *goc-pend gocpend*? Who would believe that?

4. Frequently, in the Pahlavi version, Iranian words are explained by Semitic words. Thus, in Fargard XIX. 1, *nêmak* is explained by *jîndk*; *fratâm* is so by *avla* in Yaçna XXVIII, 11, c, as *kart* is by *vâdânt* in the same song, o, at end. In the same way *tâshît* is explained by *yehabânt* (Y. XXIX, 1, a, at end), and *jshônitano* by *lukhrâr yehsântano*, (Y. XI, 6). Could the author who at the side of *nêmak* wrote *jîndk*, and *yehabânt* at the side of *tâshît*, think of explaining an obscure term by an ideogram which demanded the erudition of his readers? And the Persian who had read *kart* in his mother tongue, what could he do with *vâdânt* following, if that were intended only to reproduce the same sounds and the same words?

It will be said, perhaps, that these Aramean words were introduced to embarrass the uninitiated reader. But why, then, is the reverse fact so often produced? Why are the Huzvaresh words explained in Persian? (See *genitânt*=*margih*, Fg. IV, 135, &c.) Why are some explanations in pure Persian?

(See Y. XI, 8, r, gloss ; 13, Y. XXVIII, o, last gloss. Farg. II, 126, gloss, &c.)
And when in a repeated phrase one word is

given first in Aramean and then in Persian, is this also to embarrass the reader? Is it not rather to give him the key of the enigma?

C. DE HARLEZ.

A FRAGMENT OF A BABYLONIAN TITHE-LIST.


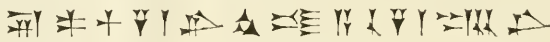
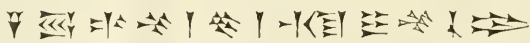

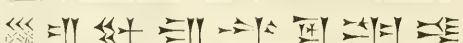


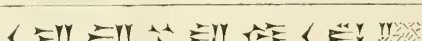
As a rule, Babylonian tithe-lists are dry and uninteresting. They give simply the usual formula, with the list of amounts paid and the names of the payers, and it is often merely in these last (the names) that the main interest lies.

Very few, however, of these texts have been, as yet, published, and I therefore present to the readers of the Babylonian and Oriental Record a specimen of a tablet of the nature above indicated, the text in question being slightly above the average in point of interest.

The text, as it has come down to us, is exceedingly short, eight lines being all that are now legible. The tablet, which is of unbaked clay, is broken off short about the middle, and the inscription on the back is so

mutilated that only two or three characters remain. It begins with a heading in the usual way, stating that what follows is the title for the treasury of the Sungod of Ê-papar (Ê-babar) from Nidintu^m son of Bêl-ibni, for the month Iyyar, 1st year of Darius the king. The tithe in question is paid, not by individuals (as it usually is), but by certain cities, the names of which are given. It would seem, therefore, that every place was laid under contribution to support the great temple of the Sungod at Sippara, in addition to the smaller fane which existed in all the chief cities of ancient Babylonia, and of which it may reasonably be supposed that each of the cities named in this short list had at least one.

TEXT OF THE TITHE-LIST. 82-7-14. 144.

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 

TRANSCRIPTION.

1. ŠĒ-BAR *es-ru-u sa-ga* 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺 *Šamas*
2. Ê-papar *sa Nidintu^m, abli-su sa* 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺 *Bêl-ibni*,
3. *sa arak Aari, sattu estin* 𐎶 *Dar-i-mu-su, sarru.*
4. Bit 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺 *sittē sa ina pan* 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺 *ânmanāti.*
5. Šelašâu *gurru šE-BAR âlu Pallukatu^m.*
6. Êšrit *gurru âlu Ni-ik-ku.*
7. Êšrit *gurru âlu Rab-bi-i-li.*
8. Êšrit *gurru âlu Kur-ra-su u bâb...*

TRANSLATION.

1. Grain, the tithe of the treasury of the Sungod of
2. Ê-papar, from Nidintu^m, son of Bêl-ibni
3. for the month Iyyar, 1st year of Darius the king.
4. Bit-šittî which is before the people.
5. 30 *gurru* of grain the city of Pallukatu^m
6. 10 *gurru* the city Niḫḫu
7. 10 *gurru* the city Rabbi-ili
8. 10 *gurru* the city Kurraṣu and the gate of...

REMARKS.

1. In translating the above text I have adopted for šE-BAR the rendering of "grain" there being a certain amount of doubt as to the correct translation of the word. Instead of šE-BAR, the group might just as well be read šE-MAŠ ("the double seed,") and if this be correct, it is not improbably connected with the word *šamas* in the compound *šamas-šamme*, a word of which the Akkadian rendering, 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺 (*še-giš-šal*), shows that it is for *šamas šamme* "seed of oil," "oilseed," identified as "sesame," Arab.

šimsim (*simsim*). ŠE-BAR or šE-MAŠ is not barley, as this was expressed by the group 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺.

2. The more usual way of writing the name of the great temple of the Sungod at Sippara is 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺 *Ê-papa* (*bara*) or *Ê-papara* (*babara*). The scribe here seems to have written phonetically *Ê-papar*.

3. The spelling of the name *Dar-i-u-su* (Darius) is unusual. The most common form is 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺 *Du-ri-ia-muš* (*Dariawuš*). Other uncommon forms of the name are 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺 *Dar-ia-a-muš*

(*Dariawuš*), 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺 *Da-ru-ia-es-su* (*Daruwēšsu*), found mainly during the early years of his reign when the name was new and strange to the Babylonian scribes.¹ It is doubtful whether other characters follow the word *sarru* "king," or not, as the tablet is defaced after this character.



4. What may be the exact meaning of this line is difficult to say, as there is no verb in the whole sentence. Most likely we have to supply the words "collected in" before the phrase "Bit-šittî which [is] before the people."

𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺, *Bit-šittî*, means literally "the house of hands," the first character being the sign *bitu* or *bêtu* "house," the second the determinative prefix for a part of the body (*šêru*, "flesh"), the third the character *šit* or *rit*, one of whose meanings is "the flat part of the hand" (palm or back, including the wrist). *Bit-šittî* is, therefore, most likely, to be translated "the house of hand-palms;" that is, a temple where there were receptacles for collecting the gifts of worshippers. Time alone will show whether

1) In this last form there seems to be some attempt at a pun, *diru* and *ēšsu*, in Babylonian, meaning respectively "long-existing," and "new"—*Daru-ia-ēšsu* "My long-existing new one."

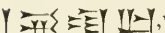
this interpretation be the right one or not, but it seems to have a certain amount of probability, especially when taken in connexion with the words "before the people." We may therefore translate "[From] the offertory-house which [is] before the people."

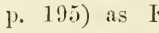
L. 5—8. The names of cities here given are all Babylonian, and the cities themselves all lay, probably, in the neighbourhood of Sepharvaim or Sippara. *Pallukatu* was probably the name of a village, and seems to be connected with the word *pallukku*, the name of a tree or plant—perhaps a name of the cypress. *Pallukatu* is seemingly a feminine plural of *pallukku*, which was probably borrowed from Akkadian.² *Niġku* is probably a town or village, so called after a star or constellation which seems to have borne that name. *Rabbi-ġlu* is one of the Aramean towns

taken by Tiglath-pileser III., who writes the name , *Ra - bi - ġlu*. The probable meaning is "great (is) God." The last line has apparently two names, *Kuraġu*, [which may also be read *Madraġu* (*Maġraġu*, *Maġraġu*) or *Šadraġu* (*Šaġraġu*, *Šaġraġu*), &c.], and a name beginning with *bāb*. With regard to the latter name it is not unlikely that the broken wedges following the last character are the two single uprights meaning "ditto," in which case the word should be restored as , and read *Bāb-ġli*, the common form of the name of Babylon.

This little text will give some idea of the character of a large number of the tablets from Abu-habbah (Sippara or Sepharvaim) and elsewhere. Examples of others will probably be given from time to time in the *Record*.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE NAME OF THE BABYLONIAN KING GADDAŠ.

THE name of the early Babylonian king , which I have transcribed (B. & O. R. p. 54) as *Gaddaš*, may also be read *Gaddēš* or *Gaddiš*. If either of these last-named transcriptions be correct, it is not unlikely that this ruler is to be identified with the king whose name I have transcribed (Proceedings Soc. Bibl. Arch. for May, 1884,

p. 195) as *Kandiš*.  *Gandiš* (or *Kandiš*) ruled about 1570 B. C., and nothing is known about his reign except that it lasted 16 years, ending about B. C. 1554. The assimilation of *n* with *d* would explain the form *Gaddiš*, and presents no difficulty, as it is a sound-change often met with in the wedge-inscriptions.

THEO. G. PINCHES.

2) Words borrowed by the Semitic Babylonians and Assyrians from foreign languages^s have generally *feminine plurals* (*iguru*, pl. *igurâte*; *ġkallu*, pl. *ġkallāti*, &c.)

NOTE ON BABYLONIAN ASTRONOMY.

The point respecting how far the description of the constellations versified by Aratus agrees better, through the effects of precession, with their positions in the heavens at a period several centuries before

his own time, than with those they occupied in the time of Eudoxus, has been discussed by Delambre in the first volume of his *Histoire d'Astronomie Ancienne*. He considers that it is impossible to come to any decided

conclusion on the subject, owing to the difficulty of feeling sure as to what part of a constellation is alluded to in any particular case. But he says, "il est en effet très possible et très probable que la sphere d'Eudoxe ne soit pas réellement de lui et qu'elle appartienne à une époque plus ancienne." I may remark that *a* Arietis was very nearly in the vernal equinox little more than two thousand years ago, or in the time of Eudoxus, whilst four thousand years ago Aldebaran (*a* Tauri) was at no great distance from it. The allusion, therefore, to the "crouching legs" of the Bull having been in the equator would apply very well to Babylonian times.

The strongest point, it appears to me, which seems to bear out Mr. Brown's theory is that of the position of the pole with respect to the stars. Hipparchus condemns Eudoxus for stating that there was a star in the north pole of the heavens, but affirms that three stars form a sort of square with it. (It is interesting to us as Englishmen that he cites as his authority for this Pytheas, of Marseilles,

who was the earliest Greek navigator to the shores of Britain.) Delambre identifies these three stars as β Ursæ Minoris; *a* and κ Draconis, but thinks it possible that Eudoxus was alluding to a small star in the nose of the modern constellation, Camelopardus. Two thousand years, however, before the time when he wrote or about four thousand years ago, *a* Draconis (as is well known) a star of the third magnitude, was very near the pole, and may have been the star alluded to by him in of the description of the heavens, on which the "Phainomena" of Aratus is founded. Of the work itself, of Eudoxus, there are only extant the few fragments preserved by Hipparchus.

I must remark, in conclusion, with regard to Mr. Brown's allusion to *a* Lyrae as formerly having been a pole star, that that has not been the case since about twelve thousand years ago, long before historic, even Babylonian, times.

W. T. LYNN.

Blackheath, Feb. 2, 1887.

EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND.

We quote from the last Report of this Fund the following sentences which will show the important and interesting character of the present campaign:—

"THE course of the Sweetwater Canal from Cairo to the Wady Tūmilât, the fertile pasture land between Zagazig and Tell-el-Kebir, the caravan route from Kantara to Farama, lie mapped out before you. With this part of the ground you are already familiar. You visited Tel-el-Maskhuta in the Wady Tūmilât, in 1883, and the country lying between Belbeis and Fakûs in 1885. Your next journey will be taken with the same objects and under the same leadership. The name of the discoverer of Pithom, the "treasure city," and Goshen the capital town of the old Scripture region, is identified with the quest of the route of

the Exodus; and we all know how deeply Mr. Naville is interested in the solution of that most difficult and important problem of ancient history. Three great Biblical sites, be it remembered, have been discovered by the instrumentality of the Egypt Exploration Fund—Pithom, Goshen, Tapanhes—and for two out of three we have to thank Mr. Naville. Those two—Pithom and Goshen—are, I need scarcely say, of incalculably high importance, inasmuch as they determine a host of such issues, and establish upon an unquestionable basis the historical accuracy of a substantial part of the Pentateuch."

Mr. Ed. Naville has sent his first report from Cairo, Jan 31, on his tour of inspection in the land of Goshen, "namely, the district east of Zagazig, between Tell-el-Kebir and Belbeis." The explorer

"found that there had been at Belbeis a temple built by Nekhthorheb (Nectanebo I.) and that it was dedicated to 'The great Sekhet who resides at Bast.' No other royal name occurs except once that of Ramses II." Near the same place at Tell-el-Yahoudieh, *i.e.*, "The Mound of the Jewess," which is quite different from the Tell of like name near Echibin-el-Kanafir, the explorer found thrice repeated, on a square granite stone, the name of a king hitherto unknown. "It is a strange sounding name. His first cartouche reads—

'User ma Ra Sotep en Amen;' and his name, 'Thot upet si Bast mi Amen.' I do not believe this cartouche has ever been seen before. Judging from his coronation name, which is identical with that of Takeloth II., Sheshonk III., and Pimai, I should say that he belonged to the Bribastite dynasty, or that he was one of the petty princes who reigned in the Delta at the time of the Conquest of Piankhi or Esarhaddon." For this interesting report in full, see *The Academy*, Feb. 19, p. 136-137.

NOTES, NEWS AND QUERIES.

KIBIR, GIBIL, "fire."—The Akkadian *Kibir*, Sumerian *Gibil*, "fire," has some Scythian affinities, and is apparently cognate to the Mongolian *ghel*, *ghal*, Sokpa *Kwal* Garo *wal*, Chinese *hwoh*, Brahui *Kahkur*, all with the same meaning of "fire."—T. DE L.

* * *

BABYLONIAN ASTRONOMY.—Our Collaborateur, Mr. G. Bertin, writes to say that (as far as he knows) "he is the only Assyriologist having expressed publicly or in private conversation, though not printed anywhere," the opinion that the astronomy of the Babylonians was not worthy its wide repute, as recorded in the last number of this Magazine, p. 61. We may, however, assure Mr. Bertin that he is not the only person entertaining these views (as he will see when forthcoming papers appear). The Editorial Committee will, no doubt, be glad to publish in these columns an article from him explaining his views and assertions on the subject, which will do more to establish his claims to priority than any possible ulterior controversy.

We take this opportunity to state that one of the rules laid down by common consent of the Editorial Committee and the Proprietor of the BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD at the time of its foundation, strictly precludes the opening

of its columns to any paper of a polemical or personal nature.—T. DE L.

FORTHCOMING PAPERS.—H. M. Baynes: "Iranian origin of the word God."—"The Mongol Concept of Deity. W. St. Chad Boscawen: "New Assyrian Tablets." Rob. Brown, Jun.: "On Oriental words from Hezychius." Dr. L. C. Casartelli: "The Semitic Verbs in Pahlavi." Dr. de Harlez: "Iranian Studies, II. The origin and Nature of the Pahlavi," (concluded). Dr. T. de Lacouperie: "Tattooing in Babylonia and China."—Babylonia and China I., "The Cardinal Points." Theo. G. Pinches: "The Babylonians and Assyrians as Maritime Nations," (continued). Dr. Mark Aurel Stein: "A newly discovered inscription in the Heri Rud Valley." Thomas Tyler: "On the Hittite Inscriptions: the Yuzgat Seal and the Seal of Tarkutimme."

* * * *

Is there any difference between the literary and spoken language in Assyria and Babylonia, and if so, what documents are there which give indications?

Is Semitic Babylonian most closely allied to the Hebrew or to the Arabic divisions of the Semitic family of languages? What are its relations, if any, to Chaldee and Syriac? Should we not expect rather a language related to these last-named tongues?

THE

BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

The Editorial Committee is not responsible for the opinions or statements of the Contributors.

TABLETS REFERRING TO THE APPRENTICESHIP OF SLAVES AT BABYLON.

THIS month I present to the readers of the *Record* a picture of Babylonian life, which could probably be seen at any time in that great city—namely, the apprenticeship of a slave by his master or mistress to learn some trade or occupation which, when he had served his time, would be useful or profitable to his owners. Great must have been the injury done by this system to the free skilled-handicraftsman; but

the injury was probably not recognised by the ancient Babylonians, accustomed as they were to slavery from the very earliest times; and the poorer classes of freemen probably had to keep their feelings to themselves when the questions of scarcity of work and the employment of skilled slave-hands came—as it must have done sometimes—forcibly before them.

I.

The first of the two documents here translated refers to the apprenticing, by a woman named Nûbtâ, of a slave belonging to Itti-Marduk-balaštu, to Bêl-êdir for five years. The trade which he is to learn is that of an *išparûtu*—a word which is probably derived from the Akkadian *uš-bar* “loom,” also “weaver.” (The Babylonians, as is well known, were celebrated for their woven stuffs.) Bêl-êdir is to teach Attan-ana-Marduk, the slave, thoroughly, and Nubtâ engages to give the slave his food and other necessaries (oil, clothing, &c.) during the time of his apprenticeship. If, however, Bêl-êdir failed to make the slave learn his trade, he was to pay a half measure of corn daily, and forty shekels of silver, apparently if he contested the contract. The names of three witnesses are given, followed by that of the

scribe. The date is “20th of Tammuz, third year of Cyrus, king of Babylon and countries” July, 535 B. C.). One peculiarity of the text is, that the character *e* has more the Assyrian than the Babylonian form (compare lines 3, 5, &c.). The letter *e* of the name Êgibi (line 16) is, apparently by a mistake of the scribe, written twice over. The text is otherwise very well written. A translation has already been given by me in the *Guide to the Nimroud Central Saloon*, p. 98, no. 57, but the text, with transcription, is here published for the first time. A comparison of the translation given in the “Guide” with that here published, will show that there is, as yet, very little to alter in the former, which like all the other translations which accompany it, is published as a free, not as a strictly literal translation.¹

1) I should here like to remark that the whole of the *Guide to the Nimroud Central Saloon* was completed by Dec. 29th, 1885; and that the translations therein are therefore all really older than the date of the preface (May 14th, 1886) implies.

TRANSCRIPTION.

1. D. P. *Nu-ub-tu-a, mârât-su ša Iddin-* D. P. *Marduk, âbil Nâr-* D. P. *Sin,*
2. *At-tan-a-na-* D. P. *Marduk.* D. P. *Gal-la-ša Itti-* D. P. *Marduk-balātu,*
3. *âbli-šu ša Nabû-âhê-iddin, âbil E-gi-bi, a-na* D. P. *iš-pa-ru-tu*
4. *a-di haššu šanāti a-ni Bêl-êd-ir, âbli-šu*
5. *ša Ab-la-a, âbil Bêl-e-de-ru ta-ad-di-in.*
6. *Iš-pa-ru-tu gab-bi u-lam-mad-su.*
7. *Dup-pi dup-pi ū-mu êšten* ΚΑ *âkalē ū*
8. *mu-šib-tum* D. P. *Nu-ub-ta-a a-na At-tan-a-na-* D. P. *Marduk*
9. *ta-nam-din. Ki-i iš-pa-ru-tu*
10. *la ul-tam-mi-du-uš, ū-mu bar še-maš*
11. *man-da-at-ta-šu i-nam-din ; na-bal-kat-ta-nu*
12. *šuššan ma-na kaspi i-nam-din.* D. P. *Mu-kin-nu : Nabû-ina-êši-êdir,*
13. *âbli-šu ša Bel-kašir, âbil Ba-bu-tu ; Nabû-šarra-ûšur*
14. *âbli-šu ša Ki-na-a ; Iddin-Nabû, âbli-šu-ša Iki-ša-a ;*
15. D. P. *rittu, Du-um-mu-ka, âbli šu ša Bêl-âhê-iddin,*
16. [*âbil*] *E-gi-bi. Tin-tir ki, arah Du'uzi, ūmu êsrâ*
17. [*šattu*] *šelaltu, Ku-ra-aš, šar Tin-tir ki,*
18. *šar mâtûti.*

TRANSLATION.

1. Nubtâ, daughter of Iddin-Marduk, son of Nâr-Sin,
2. Attan-ana-Marduk, slave of Itti-Marduk-balātu,
3. son of Nabû-âhê-iddin, son of Êgibi, for an *išparûtu*
4. for 5 years to Bêl-êdir, son
5. of Ablâ, son of Bêl-êderu, has given.
9. He shall teach him all the *išparûtu*.
7. [By] tablet [and] tablet a day 1 ΚΑ of food and
8. necessaries Nubtâ to Attan-ana-Marduk
- 9, shall give. If the *išparûtu*
10. he do not make him learn, a day a half of grain,
11. his gift, he shall give. The rebellious one
12. $\frac{2}{3}$ rds of a mana of silver shall give. Witnesses : Nabû-ina-êši-êdir,
12. son of Bel-kašir, son of Babutu ; Nabû-šarra-ûšur,
14. son of Kinâ ; Iddin-Nabû, son of Ikišâ ; [and]
15. the scribe, Dummuka, son of Bêl-âhê-iddin,
16. [son of] Êgibi. Babylon, month Tammuz, 20th day,
17. 3rd [year] of Cyrus, king of Babylon,
18. king of countries.

FREE TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION,

CONTAINING THE ESSENTIAL PART OF THE CONTRACT.

Nubtâ, mârât-su ša Iddin-Marduk, âbil Nâr-Sin, Attan-ana- Marduk, galla ša Itti-Marduk-balātu, âbli-šu ša Nabû-âhê-iddin, âbil Êgibi, ana išparûtu adi haššu šanāti' ana Bêl-êdir, âbli-šu ša Ablâ, âbil Bêl-êderu taddin. Išparûtu gabbi ulammad-su. Duppi duppi, ūmu, êšten ΚΑ âkalē ū mûšibtum Nubtâ ana Attan-ana-Marduk tanamdin. Ki išparûtu lâ ultammideš, ūmu bar šemaš mandatta - šu inamdin ; nabalkattânu' šuššan mana kaspi inamdin.

Nubtâ, daughter of Iddin-Marduk, descendant of Nûr-Sîn, has given Attan-ana-Marduk, slave of Itti-Marduk-balâtu, son of Nabû-âhê-iddin, descendant of Êgibi, as an *isparûtu* for five years to Bêl-êdir, son of Âblâ, descendant of Bêl-êderu. He shall teach him all (the trade of) *isparûtu*. According to the tablets Nubtâ shall give to Attan-ana-Marduk one $\kappa\alpha$ of food and necessities daily. If (Bêl-êdir) do not teach him (the trade of) *isparûtu*, he shall give a half [measure] of grain a day as his fine², [and] he who contests [this agreement] shall pay $\frac{2}{3}$ rds of a mana (= 40 shekels) of silver.

In the above document it will be noted that Nubtâ has not to pay Bêl-êdir any premium for teaching the slave Attan-ana-Marduk — it was without doubt considered that the teacher of the handicraft was sufficiently well paid by having the services

of his new apprentice during the space of five years. Bêl-êdir also stood to lose half a measure of grain daily should he fail to make the slave learn his trade—a considerable amount in the end, if every day of the five years of service were reckoned.

II.

The second tablet is one of similar nature to the foregoing. Marduk-našir-âdlu apprentices his slave Itti-Ib-pania to Guzanu to learn some occupation called *ûtu*—probably not exactly “book-keeping” but “tablet-keeping,” — but this is only a conjecture. Guzanu takes Itti-Ib-pania “for tablet and tablet, and three months,” a phrase which apparently means, “according to agreements already made, and upon three months’ trial.” In this document also, no premium is mentioned, but Marduk-našir-âdlu promises to Guzanu (*if he succeed in teaching*

the slave his occupation) a present of “one robe (*êstenit ûzari*), nothing more, seemingly. If, on the other hand, Guzanu failed to teach the slave, he was to pay, as fine, three $\kappa\alpha$ of grain each day. Each of the contracting parties, it is stated, took a copy of the agreement. The transaction is witnessed by three persons, and the scribe who drew up the document. The date is “15th day of Adar, 26th year of Darius, king of Babylon and countries,” (about 494 years B.C., February—March). The text is exceedingly well written.

TRANSCRIPTION.

1. D. P. *Marduk-našir-ab-lu, mâru ša Itti-Marduk-balâtu mâr E-gi-bi,*
2. *i-na hu-ul lib-bi-šu, Itti-Ib-pani-i*
3. D. P. *gal-lu-šu, a-na lu-ma-a-du* D. P. *mu-u-tu,*
4. *a-di dup-pi, û duppi, û šelaltu ârhê, a-na*
5. *Gu-za-nu, mâri ša Ha-am-ba-ku, mâr* D. P. *man-di-di*
6. *iddin.* D. P. *Mu-u-tu, tul-lu ka-ti-šu gab-bi, u lam-mad-su*
7. *Ki-i ul-tam-midu-šu, êsten-it* D. P. *u-za-ri* D. P. *Marduk-našir-ab-lu*
8. *a-na Gu-za-nu i-nam-din. Ki-i la ul-tam-mi-du-šu,*
9. *u-mu šelalta* $\kappa\alpha$ $\bar{\text{SE}}\text{-MAŠ}$, *man-da-at ša Itti-Ib-pani-ia*
10. *Gu-za-nu a-na* D. P. *Marduk-našir-ab-lu*
11. *i-nam-din. Êst-en-ta-a-an ša-ŭa-ri*
12. *ilku - u.*

REVERSE.

13. D. P. *Mu-kin-nu : Ri-mut-Bêl, mâru ša Ârdi-ia, mâr* D. P. *..... :*
14. *Is-šu-ur, mâru ša Nabû-šum-iddin, mâr E-p-eš-îlu ;*
15. *Bêl-iriba, mâru ša Kal-ba-a, mâr Mu-kal-lim ;*
16. *Ša - Bêl-at-a, D. P. dup-sar, mâru ša* D. P. *Marduk-šum-ibnê*
17. *mâr E-gi-bi. Tin-tir* D. S., *ârah Adaru, âmu huniššerit,*
18. *šattu (šiššu-êšrûu), Da-a-ri-ia-muš, šar Tin-tir* D. S.,
19. *šar nitâti.*

TRANSLATION.

1. Marduk-našir-ablu, son of Itti-Marduk-balātu, son of Êgibi,
2. in the joy of his heart, Itti-Ib-pania,
3. his slave, to learn the *mātu* [trade]
4. for tablet and tablet and 3 months, to
5. Guzanu, son of ħambaġu, son of the proctor
6. has given. The *mātu*, the work of his hands, all, he shall teach him.
7. If he make him learn [it], a garment Marduk-našir-âblu
8. to Guzānu will give. If he do not make him learn [it],
9. a day 3 ġa of grain, the measure of Itti-Ib-pania,
10. Guzanu to Marduk-našir-ablu
11. will give. Each one a writing
12. has taken.
13. Witnesses: Rēmūt-Bêl, son of Ârdia, son of the ... ,
14. Iššur, son of Nabû-šum-iddina, son of Êspeš-ġlu ;
15. Bêl-iriba, son of Kalbâ, son of Mukallim ;
16. Ša-Bêl-âtta, the scribe, son of Marduk-šum-ibnî,
17. son of Êgibi. Babylon, month Adar, day 15th,
18. year 26th. Darius, king of Babylon
19. king of countries.

FREE TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION OF THE OBVERSE,
CONTAINING THE ESSENTIAL PART OF THE CONTRACT.

Marduk-našir-âblu, mârû ša Itti-Marduk-balātu, mâr Êgibi, ina ħud libbi-šu, Itti-Ib-pania, galla-šu, âna lamâdu mâtu, âdi duppi u duppi, u šelaltî arġê, âna Guzanu, mâri ša Ĥambaġu, mâr mauidîdî, iddin. Mâtu, tullu ġati-šu gabbî, ulammad-šu. Ki ultammîdu-šu, êštînit ūzari Marduk-našir-âblu âna Guzanu inamdin. Ki lâ ultammîdu-šu, ūmu šelalta ġa šemâš, maîdat ša Itti-Ib-pania Guzanu ana Marduk-našir-âblu inamdin. Ešten-tân [or êštentam] šaġari ilġû.

Marduk-našir-âblu, son of Itti-Marduk-balātu, son of Êgibi, in the joy of his heart, has given Itti-Ib-pania, his slave, to Guzanu, son of Ĥambaġu, son of the proctor, to learn [the trade of] the *mātu*, according to the tablets [exchanged] and the 3 months' trial. He shall teach him [the trade of] the *mātu*—all his handicraft. If he make him learn, Marduk-našir-âblu will give a robe to Guzanu. If he do not make him learn, Guzanu shall give, daily, 3 ġa of grain, the value of Itti-Ib-pania, to Marduk-našir-âblu. Each one has taken a copy of the contract.

REMARKS.

Âbil, *âbli*, and *Âblû* are all one and the same word, and mean "son." The first is the construct form signifying "son of" or "descendant of." The second is the form used after another noun (genitive), after a preposition (indirect object), or before a possessive pro-

noun. The third is a proper name, and is apparently for *Âblû* "my son." The nominative form is *âblu*, and comes from *âbâlu* (or *âpâlu*), "to produce." The Akkadian form *ibila* is evidently borrowed from the Semitic Babylonian *âbil*.

Duppi duppi is apparently abbreviated from the fuller phrase *adi duppi ú duppi* "by tablet and tablet."

Mandattu and *mandat* are for *mandantu* and *mandant* respectively, from the root *nadānu* "to give."

The reading *éstentam* is probably better than *éstentān* in the phrase *éstentam šatāri ilkā* "each one has taken (a copy of) the document." According to the syllabaries, the

group $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ is to be read *am*, and this is supported by the more uncommon, but probably more phonetic spelling $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *ést-en-na-tu* (*éstennata*), which is also found.

The transcriptions of the compounded numerals are provisional, and are probably only somewhat like the true forms, though they may, by chance, turn out to be correct when complete lists come to light.

THEO. G. PINCHES.

DECIPHERING THE HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS : A RETROSPECT.

THE interest excited by the inscriptions now known as "Hittite"¹ has been lately rendered more intense by the announcement in the public Journals that the clue to the decipherment of these inscriptions has been discovered, and that their import has been disclosed. Though careful study of these inscriptions makes me somewhat sceptical as to the possibility of any sudden revelation of this kind, no decided judgment should be pronounced till both the results attained and the method of procedure adopted are fully published. Meanwhile a review of the efforts previously made for the decipherment of the inscriptions cannot be without interest.

Whether the marble pillar seen by La Roque at Hamath, adorned with figures of men, animals, birds and flowers was a Hittite monument may be doubted.² When Burekhardt visited the place in 1812, he made search for this monument without

success. "I enquired in vain," he says, "for a piece of marble with figures in relief which La Roque saw, but in the corner of a house in the Bazar is a stone with a number of small figures and signs, which appears to be a kind of hieroglyphical writing, though it does not resemble that of Egypt."³ Here undoubtedly we have mention of a Hittite inscription, and, besides, the expression of opinion that the hieroglyphics were not even similar to the Egyptian. Though one or other of the inscriptions had probably been seen by a good many European travellers during the interval, it was not till about the year 1870 that public attention was again directed to them. "They remained in obscurity till 1870, when Mr. J. Augustus Johnson, of New York, Consul-general for the United States at Bayrut, and the Rev. S. Jesup, of the Syrian Mission, remarked them, while looking through the Bazar of

1. The propriety of the name "Hittite" has been, and probably will be, called in question ; but the name, nevertheless, is likely to be enduring.

2. "Une haute colonne de marbre ornée de bas-reliefs d'une excellente sculpture, qui représentent des figures humaines, plusieurs espèces d'animaux, des oiseaux et des fleurs."—*Voyage de Syrie et du Mont-Liban*, Paris, 1722, vol. 1, p. 243.

3. Burekhardt's *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, London, 1822, pp. 146, 147.

the old town. The former presently printed in the 'First Statement of the Palestine Exploration Society' (No. 1, July, 1871; New York, published by the Committee), a reduction from a fac-simile of No. 4 inscription—that noticed by Burckhardt, and still embedded in a wall near the bridge. The latter also attempted to purchase a blue (basaltio) stone, containing two lines of these strange characters, but failed to obtain it, because of the traditions connected with, and the income derived from it. Deformed persons were willing to pay for the privilege of lying upon it, in the hope of a speedy cure, as it was believed to be efficacious in spinal diseases."⁴

Representations of the Hamath inscriptions were given in Burton and Drake's work just quoted. These representations were, however, by no means adequate, and probably led to a good deal of subsequent misinterpretation of the characters. Moreover, the figures were in part given upside down. But in 1872 Dr. W. Wright (now of the Bible Society), succeeded in obtaining and transmitting to Europe, two sets of casts of the Hamath inscriptions, the monuments themselves being consigned to Constantinople.⁵ Capt. Burton had spoken of the characters as "a system of local hieroglyphics peculiar to this part of Syria," and forming "the connecting link between picture-writing and the true syllabarium."⁶ Dr. Wright, however, while giving the inscriptions the name of "Hittite," had asserted them to be monuments of a widely-extended Hittite empire.⁷ But whether

there is or is not satisfactory evidence of a Hittite empire extending from the Euphrates to the Ægean sea we need not now inquire.

In the year last named (1872), Dr. Hyde Clarke published his view of the inscriptions (at that time), in an appendix to Burton and Drake's work, and in the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*. In the former he said of the characters, "They are not Egyptian hieroglyphics; they are not entire ideographs; and any semblance they show to Cadmean or Phœnician, or such characters, is susceptible of other explanations;"⁸ and in the latter, "So far as can be at present judged the characters are rather alphabetic than syllabic. . . . The words or phrases appear to be read from top to bottom, and may then possibly return as in boustrophedon and Himyaritic." In fact Dr. Hyde Clarke seems to have regarded the Hamath inscriptions as making some approach to the Himyaritic, even if of greater antiquity.⁹ In the same year (1872), the Rev. Dunbar Heath, in the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, appears to have suggested that the Boustrophedon manner of writing was to be observed, for he says with reference to one of the inscriptions,—"A close inspection, however, shows that your three short lines were never meant to be read as we should naturally read them. . . . Two were read one way, and the middle one a different way." Mr. Heath, however, considered that Egyptian symbols were present, and that "the two names, Thothmes III. and

4. Burton and Drake, *Unexplored Syria*, London, 1872, pp. 333, 334.

5. Wright's *Empire of the Hittites*, sec. ed., p. 8 *sqq.*

6. *Unexp. Syr.*, vol. i., pp. 138, 139.

7. "A great people, called Hittites in the Bible, but never referred to in classic history, had once formed a mighty empire in that region."—*Empire of the Hittites*, p. 7.

8. *Unexp. Syr.*, p. 353.

9. *Quart. Statem. Pal. Exp. Fund*, 1872, pp. 74, 75; *Unexp. Syr.*, p. 359.

probably Amenophis I." were to be recognized.¹⁰ A short time later Mr. Heath again wrote on the subject in the *Quarterly Statement*. He still saw some Egyptian symbols, and recognized 45 distinct characters, indicating possibly a syllabic alphabet.¹¹ In the same Journal and of the same year M. Clermont Ganneau wrote on the inscription then, and for some time after, at Aleppo, and accompanying his paper with a figure upside down, like others previously published. The inscription was described as "an apparently figurative system of writing specially belonging to Syria, and dating from a very early epoch," and further as a "Syrian system of ideography."¹² In 1876 Prof. Sayce contributed a paper to the Society of Biblical Archaeology on "The Hamathite Inscriptions." Mr. Heath's previous attempts at decipherment were condemned: "The characters are generally unlike those found on the Egyptian monuments, and Mr. Dunbar Heath's attempt to provide them with Egyptian values has been a signal failure. So far as our present materials allow us to infer, the Hamathite hieroglyphics appear to have been an invention of an early population of northern Syrians. Their occurrence in Lycaonia is probably due to Syrian conquest."¹³ With respect to the actual value and form of

the characters, Prof. Sayce's paper was tentative, suggesting 1) that resemblance of the characters to Phœnician letters might possibly lead to a determination of their syllabic values; or 2) that this result might perhaps be attained by a comparison of the Cypriote characters and syllabary.¹⁴ In 1877 Dr. Hyde Clarke published a pamphlet on *The Khita and Khita-Peruvian Epoch*, in which some twelve pages deal exclusively with comparisons, in a desultory way, of shapes between the Hittite hieroglyphics and characters, chiefly from the south Semitic alphabets.

In 1879 Rev. Dunbar Heath communicated to the Anthropological Institute a paper on "Squeezes of Hamath Inscriptions," which was published in the following year, accompanied by numerous figures. Mr. Heath seems now to have pretty well abandoned his Egyptian analogies. The paper had reference to the then recently acquired monuments from Jerablus, in the British Museum. The language was said "to be evidently Semitic, and the dialect a very fair Chaldee." One alleged translation was "'Make songs, play ye my harmonies, that they may cause thee to cure.'" (This may be supposed to be the divine voice to the body of the Priesthood in the Temple). 'Thy fee is the gift of me, Sakidijah, from which (viz., from the fee),

10. *Q.S.P.E.F.*, 1872. The discovery of the boustrophedon manner of writing on the Hamath inscriptions has been ascribed to Dr. Hayes Ward, but I am unable to say whether the announcement by him preceded that of Mr. Heath. Cf. Sayce in *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, vol. v., p. 23.

11. *Q.S.P.E.F.*, 1873, p. 35.

12. *Q. S. P. E. F.*, 1873, p. 73.

13. *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, vol. v., p. 26. What is said of Lycaonia refers to "the bas relief found by Mr. Davies at Ibreez in Lycaonia," and represented in the *Transactions Soc. Bib. Arch.*, vol. iv., part 2, pp. 336-346.

14. Prof. Sayce has since gone further into the question, and his views on the derivation of the Cypriote syllabary from the Hittite characters, applied to the verification of the phonetic values he had proposed on other grounds for some of the Hittite signs have I think, justified these values in more than the half of the possible cases, see Dr. Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet*, 1883, ii., p. 123; and Prof. Sayce's own chapter on *The Decipherment of the Hittite Inscriptions*, pp. 168-188 in Rev. William Wright, *The Empire of the Hittites* 1884.—T. DE L.

came praises to his Gods in Iban.” Another translation made mention of “collecting oil for the Goddess of Oil,” and of a “libation to the Goddess of Honey.” Mr. Heath thought that this “collection of oil and honey may be considered passing strange.” But nevertheless he maintained that the language of the tablets ought to be regarded as settled. Of the total of ten inscriptions which had been discovered, not less than four were found to “begin with a call for music, sacred music.” And Mr. Heath appealed, in proof of his success to his finding the letters *i. r. b. z.*, which, it was contended, represented Jerabis. It was objected, however, that the values assigned by Mr. Heath to the several characters rested on no principle which could be discerned.¹⁵ And as to the identification of “Jerabis” it was observed by the late Dr. Birch that there was no probability that this was the name of the place in so remote antiquity, while Dr. W. Wright, of Cambridge, remarked that it was extraordinary that in so very ancient an inscription the *r* should have a form analagous to that of the comparatively modern Hebrew *resh*.

Professor Sayce, in 1880, contributed to the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology* a much longer paper than that of 1876, entitled “The Monuments of the Hittites.” The opinion was now expressed that “Hittite influence and culture once penetrated as far as the shores of the Ægean,” and the remarkable monuments representing “a series of divinities,” at Boghaz-keui, in the centre of Asia Minor were recognized as Hittite. Certain symbols in the hands of these deities were

supposed to represent their names. But it was not shown that these figures are not personifications of cities, or, of possibly tutelary deities of cities, that the symbols in their hands are not the distinctive standards of cities—a view which the late Dr. Birch was inclined to accept, when was mentioned the matter to him. Such a view would suit very well the form of the symbols.

Very shortly after the communication of this paper, Prof. Sayce made an important discovery, namely, that of a short bilingual inscription, Hittite and Assyrian, on what he has called “the boss of Tarkondemos.” The discovery was announced in the *Academy*, of August 21, 1880, and subsequently in the *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.* vol. vii., p. 256, sqq. The seal, for such must tainly have been the character of the original object, had been previously described by the late Dr. A. D. Mordtmann¹⁶ in the *Münzstudien* of Grote (1863, t. III., pl. III., n. 1), and subsequently in the *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morgandl. Gesells*, 1872, p. 625, sqq. But Mordtmann had no idea of symbols on the seal being Hittite or Hamathite. The discovery of this was due to the penetration and research of Prof. Sayce. Conclusions somewhat different from those of Prof. Sayce were expressed about the same time by Mr. Tyler, who also discussed the then (1880) recently acquired monuments in the *Brit. Mus.* in their relation to the seal. (*Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Nov. 21, 880, pp. 6-8.)

Prof. Sayce’s views with regard to the “boss of Tarkondémos”¹⁷ have been recently criticised by M. A. Amiaud in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, pt. 2, p. 274,

15. See remarks by several scholars in *Journal of Anthr. Inst.*; 1886, pp. 369-375; *Proc. S. B. A.*, Dec. 7, 1880.

16. At first at Constantinople: *Secau de Tarkoundimmi, roi de Tarsous*, 1861, in-8; according to G. Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne*, 4th edit., p. 744.—T. DE L.

17. Prof. A. H. Sayce entered again in the field about this special inscription in 1885, at the occasion of a paper by Mr. T. J. Pinches on *The name of the city and country over which*

一十合之十廿四回四一檢十合之廿四一廿二以

附之廿之廿四以一檢十廿四合四

四廿四之六廿四回四廿四廿四多非結

之檢廿四廿四回廿四廿四三回後之廿

一合廿四回一檢廿四回以四四四之檢檢

回之四多非結回回之交非以非廿四

檢附合之合以四回非非去一十合之廿四回

之廿一合廿四附檢之檢附回合之合以

之多三廿廿廿之回之廿一檢十廿四合四

一合廿四之廿一十合之廿四之廿四

附檢之非非之廿四之廿

交 非

四多風之十去去之四四一之四四四

一廿四回四四一非非多非四一之非十

一非回四四一非非非一四一多非合

一非非非非非非非非非非一十合之非非

四一非非非非非非非非非非非非非

非非非非非非非非非非非非非非非

非 非 非

and a reply by Prof. Sayce has appeared in the fourth part of the same Journal, p. 330.¹⁸

Capt. Conder,¹⁹ in the *Q.S.P.E.F.*, for 1884, p. 18, wrote a short article entitled "Hamathite and Egyptian," suggesting a good many analogies between the Egyptian and the Hamathite or Hittite characters; but several of these analogies can scarcely appear other than fanciful. Capt. Conder, however, is careful to observe, "I offer such notes as suggestions only, not as positive facts." And in his very lately published *Syrian Stone-Lore* (London, 1886, 8vo.) he remarks, "We may at least say that the present state of our information on the subject does not permit us to draw definite conclusions, or even to attribute these texts to the Hittites with certainty." It would seem, therefore, from the confidence with which some translations were put forth recently in *The Times*, (Feb., 1882, that Capt. Conder thinks that he has made very lately indeed an important discovery which he has not yet revealed.

We must also mention the researches of the late Francois Lenormant,²⁰ in his *Origines de l'histoire* (vol. II., part II.); and the views of Prof. de Lacouperie, who thinks that both the Babylonian and Egyptian writings have come from an older system, which has also produced, besides others, the Hittite hieroglyphics; this earlier system of Kuschite (non-Semitic) origin, being derived from the primitive mode of writing by fixing objects, genuine or not, on boards.—*J. R. A. S.*, 1885, vol. XVII., pp. 420-422; *Bib. Or. B.*, I., p. 27.

The Rev. C. J. Ball, in a paper, quite recently, much elaborated (*Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Feb. 1, 1887, pp. 67-77), has contended that many Hittite proper names, hitherto differently explained, are easily understood as Semitic, and therefore show the Semitic nature of the language; and he has proposed a translation of two fragments of inscriptions in giving to the Hittite signs phonetic values derived from their similarities of shape (sometimes far fetched), with characters of the Cypriote syllabary and of the south Semitic alpha-

Turkâtinnme ruled (*Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, March 3, pp. 124-127), and wrote a note on *The inscription of Turcondenos* (*ibid.* May 5, pp. 143-147) where he maintained strongly his opinions that the Hittites were a Kappadokian and not a Semitic people, that the inscriptions are various and that the Hittite system of writing may have been used by tribes speaking different languages and belonging to different nationalities.—T. DE L.

18. In 1881-83 an attempt of another kind was made by Mr. John Campbell of Montreal, who wrote a paper on *A Key to the Hittite Inscriptions* (*Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.* 6th Dec., 1881), also *On the Hittite Inscriptions* (in *The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*, Chicago, 1882, vol. iv., Jan.), and a special pamphlet, *A Translation of the principal Hittite Inscriptions yet published* (1883, privately printed). The author proposed translations of several inscriptions as historical texts, with the special help of the Japanese!—T. DE L.

19. The same author had written previously on *Hamath Inscriptions* (in the *Q.S.P.E.F.*, 1883, pp. 133-134, 189-192).—T. DE L.

20. Though not working on the inscriptions, the researches of this great scholar have a direct bearing on the language in which they are written. At the very moment of his lamented death, 9th Dec., 1883, he was deeply engaged in a thorough investigation of all the Hittite proper names, and he had already come to the conclusion that they are not Semitic nor Aryans in the case of the Hittites of the north, while they are purely Hebrew in the case of those of the south. Vide his *Orig. Hist.* ii. (ii) pp. 255-279.—Mr. Fr. Chabas had already shewn the first case with the names found in the Egyptian inscriptions. (*Voyage d'un Egyptien en Syrie, &c.*) Paris, 1866, pp. 326-346).—T. DE L.

bets. The paper, however, seems to have undergone very considerable changes since it was read before the Society.

R. Q.

There is little to be added to the report which our esteemed contributor has drawn up at our special request. Some special papers may have escaped his notice, but with the dispersion of scientific communications into many periodicals, we are sure that the authors of the papers he has left behind will easily excuse his unwilling neglect.

From this report and the notes appended to, we may resume that five distinct attempts, more or less incomplete, have been made at deciphering the Hittite inscriptions, by

1—Rev. Dunbar Heath, in 1880, by a Semitic Aramean process of guess-at-the-meaning.

2—Mr. John Campbell, of Montreal, in 1882-83, by a Japanese system of guess-at-the-meaning.

3—Rev. Prof. A. H. Sayce, in 1880-85, from a bi-lingual text, internal evidence, and Cypriote similarities.

4—Rev. C. J. Ball, in 1887, by resemblances of characters from Cypriote syllabary and south Semitic alphabets.

Fancy and science have an equal share in these four tentatives. We do not know as yet on which side Capt. Conder's attempt shall have to be placed.

T. DE LACOUPERIE.

21. Scholars are indebted to the industry of Mr. W. H. Rylands, who has published a collection of all the inscriptions complete at the time, and augmented in a second edition. T. DE L.

THE ERANIAN ORIGIN OF THE TEUTONIC CONCEPT OF DEITY.

IN matters of scientific discovery there is perhaps no safer maxim than the well-known aphorism of Bacon:—

"Sola spes est in verâ inductione."

But nowhere has it been on the whole so persistently neglected as in the attempts to explain the rise and fall of religious ideas. And yet it is precisely in an examination of the fundamental facts of man's common religious consciousness that the inductive method should prove most fruitful. What philology and ethnology have done to strengthen the tie that binds the individual to his fellow-man, I venture to think comparative conceptology will do for the broadening and deepening of his faith. It is not too much to hold that, in the multiform manifestation of human speech we have a *contemporary antiquity*, and are able, as Goethe would say, to look into great maxims of creation, nay, into the secret workshop of God.

The consideration of the cell-element of

all religious thought, namely, the Concept of Deity, can thus vie in interest with the astronomer's study of galaxy and nebulae, of systems and of worlds. To trace the history of the name which is above every name, to gauge the supreme concept must be to every thoughtful student of man, be he ethnographer or psychologist, historian or antiquarian, a very choice delight. Nevertheless, we have to confess that though there is now little doubt as to the origin and meaning of Hottentot *Zîni-||Goam*, of Papuan *Dirava*, of African *Dendid*, and American *Kittanitowit*, we have, for the most part, been far from arriving at a truly scientific derivation of our own Teutonic word for the All-Father, which, from the cradle to the grave, expresses for each his sublimest thought, his best feeling, his loftiest aspiration.

In the present paper I propose, by means of national and international linguistic analysis, to trace the Teutonic expression

of theistic Idea, and to see whether it is possible to point out an Aryan phonetic type expressing a concept of Deity.

"Parmi les noms européens de Dieu," says M. Ad. Pictet,¹ "qui n'ont pas de corrélatifs orientaux, mais dont quelques-uns peuvent être fort anciens, je ne m'occuperai ici que du gothique *Guth*, et de ses analogues germaniques. Les essais multipliés qui ont été faits pour l'expliquer montrent bien à quel point nous sommes livrés aux incertitudes étymologiques quand les termes Sanscrits ou zends nous font défaut." Starting from the base *ghuta*, M. Pictet would naturally look for a Sanskrit form *ghuta*. Not finding this, however, he suggests that the Gothic word came from *Huta* (✓ *hu*), which has the double sense of *sacrificatus* and *is cui sacrificatur*, 'et ce dernier conviendrait parfaitement à Dieu,' giving us the formula *Huta* : χύσις :: χύτρα : *ṣao-t'ra*.

Now, though this may at first sight seem a tempting etymology, especially as we have the analogue skt. *jaḡata*, ṣd. *jasata*, p. *iṣad*, h. *Isten* (✓ *jag*), yet I cannot but agree with Ebel² that *gud* and not *guth* is the true Gothic form, as the corresponding term in old High German is *Kot*.

That "God" cannot come from "good" will, I think, be no longer doubted by any competent philologist. Not only is it that in Gothic the vowels are different, *Gud* in the one case and *gôd* in the other, but there is the never-failing distinction between the long and the short vowel in Anglo-saxon. Let us take, for instance, two passages from *Beôvulf* (1554-1563) :

"And hálig *God*
Geveôld víg-sigor, vitig drihten.

püt vās vaepna cyst

*Bûton hit vās mære poune ænig mon óther
Tô beadu-lâce átberan meahthe
Gôd and geatolic giganta geveore."*

And in the following verse from St. Luke (viii. 19) :—

"Tha cwaeth se Haeland ; hwi segst thu me gôdne . nis nan man *gôd* buton *God* ana."

In Gothic :—

"Kvath than du imma Iaisus . hva mik kvithis gôdana . ni ainshun *gôds* niba ains *Gud*."

In Norsk :—

"Men Jesus sagde til ham : Hvi Kalder du mig *god*? Ingen er god, uden Een, nemlig *Gud*."

The forms *Gud* and *gôd* in Gothic become, according to a phonetic law affecting the Aryan stratification of speech, *Kot* and *Kuot* in Old High German. Of the former we have proof in a translation of St. Ambrose's three Hymns, beginning :—

Kotes kalaupu dera lepames

Dei fide, quâ vivimus, etc.

whilst in the word *kuotchuntî* for Gothic *gôdkundi* gospel, we have an interesting verification of the latter. It is a law as well understood and as regularly applied as the so-called 'Celtic process,' according to which initial consonants are changed into others of the same origin, to denote a diversity of logical or grammatical relation. For instance,

Tad	father
Ei Dad	his father
Ei Thad	her father

In his *Etymologische Forschungen*³ Prof. Pott suggests the root '*sud*' to purify, but we know that '*sud*' is a corruption of *kud*^c or *kvad*^c (cf. *καθ-αρός*, *cas-tus*, *cistu*) which could only give us *Hud* or *Haid* in Gothic.

Similarly when Ebel⁴ connects *Gud*

1. *Les Origines Indo-Européennes*, p. 658.

2. *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, v. 235.

3. i. 252.

4. *Zeitschrift*, v. 235.

with skr. gud° (कुवु-वु, कुवु-वु, custos) the reply is that an Aryan form *kud'ā* would have given us what in fact we find, namely *Huda, hide, Hut*.

Nor do I think Schweizer⁵ and Leo Meyer⁶ have been more successful. The hypothesis of the one being *Guth* = véd. D'ñti, because, forsooth, skr. d° is sometimes reduced to h, and h = g Gothic! whilst that of the other is that *Gutha* = G'uta.

No, if we want an etymology which is to be of any scientific value, we dare not disregard the *Lautverschiebungsgesetz*. If the exact phonetic equivalent cannot be found in Sanskrit, let us turn to Ancient Bactrian.

What I venture to submit is that the word "God" is derived from the Erānian verbal adjective K'ad'āta, meaning 'self-evolved' or 'self-determined,' obeying one's own law, as opposed to *stid'āta* 'following the law of the world.' So far from agreeing with M. Pictet when he says: 'Le g gothique, en effet, ne saurait en aucun cas répondre au g zend,' it seems to me that a sound which is the equivalent of Pahlavi K' and Persian K' cannot have been very different from Greek χ, which is the normal exponent of Gothic g.

Very remarkable are the passages in the Avesta in which the word K'ad'āta occurs. I shall quote at least three, firstly word for word, and then in M. Darmesteter's excellent translation. — Vendidād, xix, 13 (44):—

//Nišbajaguha .	tû .	Šarat'ustra .
Invoke	thou	Zoroaster
t'wāsahê .	k'ad'ātahê .	Šrvānahê .
Universe (gen.)	self-determined	time
akaranahê .	vajaos .	uparo-kairjehê
boundless	Vaju	high-in-action
'Invoke, O Zarāt'ustra, the sovereign		

Heaven, the boundless Time, and Vayu, whose action is most high.'

36 (122):—

//Nišbajêmi .	mis'vānahê .	gātvaḥê
I call upon	Mis'vāna	place.
K'ad'ātahê	K'invad-peretum	Mašdad'ātam
sovereign	Kinvad	bridge
	Mašda-	made.

'I invoke the sovereign place of eternal weal, and the Kinvad bridge, made by Masda.'

The last is a very obscure passage from the Vendidād Sâdah, and M. Darmesteter has to confess that his translation is doubtful.

//Nišbajêmi .	Meresu .	Pôuru-K'ad'ātô
I invoke	Meresu	Ancient-s lf.
existent.		

judisto .	mainivâo .	damân .
most warlike	of the two	spirits
creation	savaghaitis	
mighty	//	

M. Darmesteter translates: 'I invoke the ancient and sovereign Meresu, the greatest s at of Battle in the creation of the two spirits.' If I venture to give another version it is because I feel that I am supported by the note of a distinguished Erānian scholar. In his *Handbuch der Avestasprache* (p. 111. n.2), Dr. Wilhelm Geiger says, referring to this passage, "Das Folgende . . . ist vollkommen unerklärbar. Bemerken möchte ich nur dass in *Qadhata* ein Eigenname vorliegen könnte." This is the more probable, because *Pôuru-K'ad'ātô* is the subjective case, so that I should render the sentence as follows:—

'I call upon Meresu. The Ancient and self-existent, in the creation of the two spirits, was a mighty warrior.'

Kad'āta is composed of K'ā, self, and dāta, the perfect participle passive of the root dā, to put, make, create. The Sanskrit

5. *Zeitschrift*, i. 157.

6. *Zeitschrift*, vii. 12.

equivalent is *Svadâta*, for *Şd. k'a* is another form of *hva*, which represents Sat. *sva*. We have seen that it is used both as an adjective and as a substantive; and I think it is not going too far to hold that we have here an Aryan phonetic type expressing a concept of Deity, when we look at the following table of cognates.

√D'A.

Aryan—*Svadâta*.

Şand—*Kadâta*.

Pahlavi—*K'utât*.

Greek—(ἔ)-*θεος* = *σφέ-θεος*

Parsi-G—*K'odâo*.

Persian—*K'ûda*.

Kurdish—*K'odê*.

Pa'sto—*K'udê*.

Osseti—*K'uzau*.

Ka'smiri—*K'udân*.

Sind'i—*K'udâ*.

Urdu—*K'udâ*.

Dak'ani—*K'ûda*

Musulman-Bengali—*K'odâ*.

Gothic—*Gnd*.

Old High German—*Kot*.

Thus, the Aryan concept of Deity, alike in extension and intension, is a truly noble one; it is the *absolutism of the Supreme*—'Law unto Himself,' Lawgiver to man.

"God is law, say the wise, O Soul, and let us rejoice,
For if He thunder by law, the thunder is yet His voice.

Law is God, say some; no God at all, says the fool,
For all we have power to see is a straight staff bent in a pool.

And the ear of man cannot hear, and the eye of man cannot see,
But if we could hear and see this vision—were it not He?"

HERBERT BAYNES.

IRANIAN STUDIES.—II.

THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE PAHLAVI.

(Continued from p. 76.)

5. Certain words of constant use are not represented in Pahlavi by the Aramean form; such are *shedâ* (deva), *lâ* negation. If they had there read only *dev* and *mâ*, how should it happen that some words occurring so frequently had never been replaced by Iranian, although all others had been so?

6. The mode of forming Pahlavi words is quite regular, and denotes a systematic spirit which a simply ideographic usage would not serve to explain. On the contrary, it would be perfectly similar to that followed by all peoples when they have appropriated a series of foreign words for naturalization among themselves. The Huzvaresh verbs and verbal nouns are formed precisely as those which German borrows from French and Latin. In the one as in the other language, there is joined to exotic subjects a special suffix proper to themselves, which makes of it a Pahlavi, or German, radical. It is *ân* in Pahlavi, and *ir* in German. To this radical are joined the

personal suffixes, modal or nominal. They have thus the forms which we can place in parallelism:

Reg-ir-en,	exere-ir-en;
katar-ân-tan,	yedr-ân-tan;
Reg-ir-ung,	prob-ir-ûng;
yedr-ân-ishn,	katr-ân-ishn.

German conjugates: *exercire, exercirest, exerciret*; like the Pahlavi *katrânâm, katrânâi, katrânît*.

The junction of the subject and the suffix is made under certain fixed rules, much as they vary. Does anyone operate in that manner on simple lines or in the style of a *rebus*?

The adjective *saryâ*, 𐭮𐭥𐭥, 'bad,' has a comparative *sarîtar*, 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥; why should they have given themselves the trouble of modifying the positive, and not have written 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥, if the question were only one of an ideogram deprived of its own sound?

7. Some forms are exclusively proper to the Aramean verbs, e. g., the participial forms, ܝܢ , ܐܢܝ (*yán, áni?*). Thus *yedrúnán* corresponds to *burt*, 'carried', (participle of *burtano*, 'to carry'); see Farg II. 106, 110, 112, and V. 11, 12, compared with 19, 20. How should these forms be read in Persian, which has nothing analogous; and how are they produced if none of the Huzvaresh words were read?

8. Certain constructions, essential or much used in Pahlavi, are entirely Semitic, even opposed sometimes to the genius of the Iranian. Thus the Pahlavi employs the positive for the Semitic preposition *men*. It says, e. g., *bonum ab aliquo*, (*nîtk men*) for 'better than some one.' That usage would not have been possible if the Persians had been contented with representing the Iranian words by their Semitic correspondents. The old Iranians did not say *vanla, volu haca*. It is here, then, the Aramean which has penetrated into the Pahlavi, and the Pârsi *reh ezh* is nothing but an imitation of *nîtk men*.

We might say as much of the pronominal suffixes added to the nouns and particles. The old Persian had some enclitic but no construct pronouns, nor suffixes. But these can be contested.

Some combinations of prepositions are not made after the pattern of Persian phrases; e. g., *mehin men* above corresponds to *azarar*, *mehin y'n* being rendered *avi* in Farg. V, 1, &c. *Mehin men* could be read *avar az*, never *azarar*. If *al hat* is the copy of *mâ gar*, that proves solely the imitation, and not the absence of pronunciation. The Huzvaresh ܠܝܬ , *lôit, lévít*, is exactly the Syriac and Samaritan *laít*, (Chald. ܠܝܬ). Would these languages intend to adopt and transfigure the Pârsi *nîst*? Can we believe they would create these artificial forms in those different languages to make *nîst* to be quite plainly read, when it would have been so simple to write it just as it was? Besides, would they have changed *laít* into *lôit* or *levít*, if nothing of it had been read?

9. A good number of the Huzvaresh nouns are formed by a complete Aramean word and the suffix *man*. Of this kind are also *barman*, 'son,' *yadman*, 'hand,' *gadman*, 'glory,' 'fortune,' and many others. What could the suffix do in these words, if it was not pronounced? It is not a usual Iranian suffix, much less the suffix of the corresponding Persian words; for, in middle-Persian, to *barman* corresponds *puçar*; to *yadman*, *dast*; to *gadman*, *bakht* or *kvor*. This suffix *man* was perfectly superfluous, and its use inexplicable, if they substituted for it everywhere and always the Persian word to the Huzvaresh, if *barman, yadman*, and the like, were written never to be pronounced. This is specially so in regard to *barman*; for if this word ought to have been pronounced *puç r*, it would have been much more natural to have substituted for it simply the real Aramean word *bar*, which had the same final, and would have recalled to the memory much more naturally the word which they really wished to represent. This word *barman* is found in a single inscription, and that even one of the oldest, alternating with *pusar*. They certainly could never have written *qadman, gadman, barman*, in place of *qad, gad, bar*, for *dast, bakht, pusar*, if the former words were nothing but figurative signs.

10. The same reflection applies to the Huzvaresh verbs. All the Aramean verbs terminate in a guttural ܟ , ܩ , ܦ , ܥ , losing the guttural, and taking the suffix *itân*, intermediary between the root and the from *tano* of the infinitive; e. g., *ramah, ramitûntano*, (Pers. *algandan*) *i qarab, karitûntano*, (Pers. *kheândan*).

How can it be explained to us how they thought of introducing into a word which was not pronounced a new suffix, expressly created, and not to be pronounced in the very least? And we remark that this suffix has been from the first alone, and the only sign of the infinitive of the Aramean verbs. In order to represent *afgandan* or *matan*, they take the Aramean root *ramah* as a simple sign; then they add to it a special form, intended only

to be seen, and not representing anything at all, and so they have properly invented and added the suffix *itân*, with all the letters written, but never read! Who has ever seen such a thing? And who can believe it?

11. A passage of the Bundehešh appears to us decisive. In chapter XVI., p. 39, l. 1-14, certain beings are spoken of, some male, and some female. The Pahlavi text runs: "The sky, metals, the wind [are] male, (*zakar*), and never otherwise ... The earth, water, plants, fishes, [are] female, (*vakad*)... All other creatures are male and female, (*nar, vakad*)." As we have seen, the first time the word 'male' is rendered by the Aramean *zakar*; the second time by the Persian *nar*. Then the text adds: '*nar yekavimûniteigôn zak ê zakar. ... nar is the same as zakar.*'

Here, then, is a Pahlavi author who employs successively the two terms *zakar* (Sem.) and *nar* (Pers.), and who believes that he

ought not to explain the foreign Semitic word, but the Iranian word, and who does this by saying that the Iranian term is equivalent to the Aramean term. How could he have thought of explaining the one of these two terms, if both had been read alike, if he had only placed there for his readers twice the word *nar*; and if he had thought of explaining anything, would it not have been before everything this Aramean mask which concealed the true word to be read? If these two words had been pronounced in the same way, the explanation would amount to this: *nar* is equivalent to *nar*. And if he concerned himself only with the reading, the author would have said that *zakar* ought to be read *nar*, while he literally said: "*navest sicut illud quod zakar.*" Now the expression *zak ê* points out the nature, the existence, and not only the letters of the writing.

C. DE HARLEZ.

PEHLEVI NOTES.

I.—THE SEMITIC VERB IN PEHLEVI.

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PROF. DE HARLEZ in his interesting and valuable remarks on "the Origin of the Pehlvi" in No 4. of this Journal, has very well illustrated, by the system of the borrowing and adaptation of Latin or French words in modern German, the similar processes observable in Pahlavi; in its treatment of words taken from Semitic languages. It would be needless to repeat here the examples quoted. But the analogy can really be carried much further, and will then appear more striking. As I have not seen this analogy (in the matter of the *verb*) yet mentioned by any writer, I venture to call attention to it in this place.

1. It is a peculiarity of Pehlvi that, in borrowing Semitic *verbs*, it always adds the curious and hitherto unexplained syllable *ân* to the Semitic stem-form, before adding the Eranian mood, or tense, or personal suffixes,

Thus: *katr-ân-tano*, to remain, (from Sem. כתר, כטז); *yeher-ân-tano*, to be, (from Sem. יהוה, יוסן); *gait-ân-tano*, to bring (Sem. איתי, אלת); *-yemlat-ân-tano*, to speak, (מלל); *hinkhit-ân-tano*, to place, (from hiphil of החת, הנחת). Also, *khall-ân-açtano*, to loosen, (حلال, &c.); *barjh-ân-açtano*, to enquire, (Sem. בעיה, חכם).

2. It is surprising to find that modern German also employs a fixed syllable *ir* (formerly *ier*), which is, exactly like the Pehlvi *ân*, inserted between the borrowed French-Latin, or other stem-form, and the German grammatical terminations, e. g., *command-ir-en*, (Fr. commander), *stud-ir-en*, (Lat. studere), *polemis-ir-en*, (Gr. πολεμίζειν), *blam-ir-en*, (Fr. blâm-er), *confisc-ir-en*, (Lat. con-

1) I have, since writing the above, noticed that it is briefly referred to by M. Darmestater, *Etudes Iraniennes*, t. i., p. 30.

fisc-are), *boycott-ir-en*, (Eng. boycott). It would be interesting to know the origin of this *-ir* suffix. It might, perhaps, be thought that it originated with the borrowing of verbs of the Second French Conjugation, whose infinitive is in *ir*: for example, *agir-en*, (Fr. agir), *polir-en*, (Fr. polir), *établir-en*, (Fr. établir), &c.; and that it was subsequently extended, by the familiar process of analogy, to all borrowed foreign verbs. But to advance this theory with any plausibility would require a knowledge of the historical lexicography of Modern German, so as to find which of those *iren* forms was the earliest introduced.²

3. I would venture to suggest that the *ân* of the Pehlevi, may possibly be a nunated 3

per. pl. ending, so common in Syriac (ܐܘܢ) in the Arabic aorists َ ُ ِ ُ ِ ُ ; and cf. the older Hebrew form in יָנִי. This borrowing of the Semitic stem, in one fixed form, would very well accord with the habit of borrowing the noun in the *emphatic* state, to which Prof. de Harlez alludes. It is known that a large proportion of the Semitic verbs are borrowed direct from the Aorist or so-called "future" form, as in several examples quoted,—*yehērântano*, *yekavîmântano*, *yâtântano*, *yeh çântano*, &c., and such a form as *yekatibuntano*, to write, practically contains the Arab. 3 pers. pl. aorist nunated form, رَسَّوْا يَتَدَبَّنْ

L. C. CASARTELLI.

2) Since writing the above, it has occurred to me that the suggested origin of the *-ir* formative syllable from French infinitives in *-ir* is not likely: [1] Because the older form was *-ier*, as still seen in *Reg-ier-ung*, from verb *reg-ier-en*, (now written *reg-ir-n*); [2] Because the Dutch employs in corresponding cases the syllable *-eer*, e. g., *reg-eer-en*, *organis-eer-en*, &c. This does not affect the parallelism with Pehlevi *-ân*.

NOTES, NEWS AND QUERIES.

In the April number of the *Contemporary Review* Prof. Robertson Smith, while admitting the service which Capt. Conder has rendered to Biblical science by his work in the field in Palestine, administers to the gallant officer a severe castigation for recent performances of another kind, and especially for his attack on Wellhausen and the Grafian School. We forbear to express any opinion concerning the main question at issue, but we are disposed to concur in the doubt expressed with regard to Capt. Conder's qualifications for the task he has essayed.

Mr. W. St Chad Boseawen is at present delivering, at the British Museum, a series of Lectures on the History and Civilization of Babylonia, embracing the period from the Fall of the Assyrian, to the Fall of the Babylonian, Empire.

FORTHCOMING PAPERS. Arthur Amiaud: "The various names of Sumer and Akkad in the Cuneiform Texts." W. St C. Boseawen: "New Assyrian Tablets." Rob. Brown, Jun.: "Oriental words from Hezyehius." Dr. L. C. Casartelli: "Pehlevi Notes. II. A parallel to the Pehlevi 'Jargon';— "Two Discourses of Chosroës the Immortal-souled." Dr. C. de Harlez: "The Origin and Nature of the Pahlavi," (concluded). Dr. T. de Lacouperie: "Tattooing in Babylonia and China."—Babylonia and China. I. The Cardinal Points. II. Shamash and Shang-ti. Dr. Julius Oppert: "A Juridic Cuneiform Text." Theo. G. Pinches: "The Babylonians and Assyrians as maritime nations," (continued). Prof. E. Revillout and Dr. V. Revillout: "Sworn obligations in the Egyptian and Babylonian laws." Dr. Mark Aurel Stein: "An inscription from the Heri Râd valley." T. Tyler: "On the Hittite inscription of the Yuzgat Seal."

THE

BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

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TWO DISCOURSES
OF CHOSROËS THE IMMORTAL-SOULED.

IN the last book of his *Cyropædia*, (viii. 7), Xenophon reports the discourse on the immortality of the soul, which the great Persian king, Cyrus, is said to have spoken to his children when at the point of death. That noble discourse is rendered still better known, by the translation of it which Cicero has inserted in the most charming part of his charming Essay on Old Age (c. xxii).

Is there any historical foundation for the words which Xenophon has put into the mouth of the dying king? Or is this speech, like so many, (though not all,) of the incidents of this "philosophical novel," a pure invention of the writer? This is a question into which I will not enter here. I merely touch upon it, in order to call attention to the striking coincidence that Persian and Parsi tradition has preserved to us the dying speech, (whether apocryphal or genuine we know not), of another and equally great Persian monarch. Just as Xenophon puts into the mouth of the greatest king of the Achaemenid dynasty, who died some five hundred years before Christ (529), a discourse on the Immortality of the Soul,—so does the *Andarj-i Khûgro-i Kavâtân* put into the mouth of the greatest of the Sassanid dynasty, Chosroës,—whose very title Anoshak-Rûbânô¹ signifies exactly "he of the Immortal Soul," and thus bears testimony to the same great doctrine which Cyrus is made to enunciate,—and who died some five hundred years after Christ (579),—

a moral discourse of still greater beauty.

This discourse has lately been published in its Pehlevi text by the learned and indefatigable High-Priest of the Parsis in Bombay, Dastur Peshotan Sanjāna, as one of the pieces edited by him in an interesting volume (containing four Pehlevi treatises, *Ganj-i Shāyagān* and others, Bombay, 1885), which is uniform with his invaluable edition of the *Dinkart*, and is arranged on the same plan. The *Andarj*, or "Last Will" of King Chosroës is the shortest of these four treatises, and like them, is accompanied by a transcription into Avestic characters, an English as well as a Gujerati version, and a "select glossary."

It is a pleasure, in passing, to refer to the debt of gratitude which Eranian scholars owe both to the High-Priest himself for his various editions of hitherto inaccessible Pehlevi texts, and to his accomplished son Darab Dastur, for his really excellent English versions and editions of the German writings of Spiegel and Geiger on Avestic subjects,—particularly his handsome translation of the latter's *Civilisation of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times*, of which the second volume has just appeared (London: Henry Frowde).

At the same time, it is known that native systems of translation often vary more or less widely from those of European scholars, who follow much more closely the intricacies of the original text. These divergencies are sometimes serious, as may be seen in Dr West's Pahlavi texts² and my own studies on

1) Popularly, Anosharvan, or, Anushirwan.

2) In the Sacred Books of the East, e. g., Vol. xviii. pp. 399–410.

Mazdean philosophy³ and medicine.⁴ For that reason, Prof. de Harlez has in a recent number of the *Muséon* (Jan. 1887) retranslated one of the four treatises edited by Dastur Peshotan in the volume above referred to, viz: the "Book of Counsels of Aterpât-i Mansarspendân;" and this retranslation, as will be easily seen, differs very widely in parts from that contained in Dastur Peshotan's edition.

In this paper I have followed suit in at-

tempting a fresh version of King Chosroës' dying discourse. Certainly, in this little work, which is very brief, there is but very slight discrepancy between my version and that given in the Dastur's Edition; still a few sentences are differently rendered, as will be seen.

I append to the version also a transcription in Latin characters, as modern Parsis read Pehlevi in several respects differently to European scholars.

IN THE NAME OF THE ADORABLE CREATOR
AÛHARMAZD.

1. Thus they say that the Immortal-souled Chosroës, son of Kobad, at the moment when he was come to the end of his time before that his life was parted from his body, by way of last will unto the people, spake;

2. To wit: "As soon as this life shall be parted from my body, take this my throne and bear it to Ispahan, and in Ispahan set me up, before the face of the people make ye proclamation, saying:

'O men, from doing sin preserve yourselves; and in the working of meritorious deeds be ye active; and the splendour of this world hold ye in contempt.

'For this is the body of him who yesterday was in the body, and whom men approached

PAVAN SIEM-I YAZATO DÂTÂR
AÛHARMAZD.

1. Aitâno yemlalünd aigha anoshak-rûbâno Khûero-i Kavâtâno, yin zak anâ hâmat pârgâ⁵ yehevûnt, pesh men zak hamat jân men tano gvitâk yehevûnt, pavan andarj val gehânîkân⁶ gâft :-

2. Aigha eigûn hamat denman jân⁷ men tano-i li dvitâk yehevûnt denman tâkht-i li meliim yehçûnêt va-paran Içpahano⁸ li yedrûnêt va-paran Içpahano li barâ hinkhitûnêt pavan çar-i gehânîkân *k:thulâ* vahdûnêt aigha:

Martûmân men vanaç kartano barâ pâhr-ijêt va-pavan kerfak varjeshnih tvakhshâk yehevûnêt va cabû-i çtik pavan *khêr*⁹ yehçûnêt.

Mano denman zak tano ait mano *detmihiv*¹¹ [?] barâ denman tano yehevûnt

3) Philosophie Religieuse du Mazdéisme, (Paris, 1874), pp. 38--43, 97--99.

4) Traité de Médecine Mazéenne, (Louvain, 1886), pp. 24--45.

5) This, I suppose, is P. پُر, pur=full)+ گاد, (the Peh. *gâç*=time.) This gâç, meaning 'time' is from Zend *gâtha*, and thus differs even in derivation from gâç=place, Z. *gâtu*. So West *Mainyo-i-khard*, p. 88.

6) The P. جَهَانِيَان = people, creatures, 'mundani.'

7) The Parsis always write this word *gayo*.

8) This is written exactly like *açpâno*, 'horses.' It might, perhaps, be "put on horses (i. e., on a chariot), and bear it to Ispahan."

9) *gâç*. Pesh. reads *kâlâ*. It seems to be from the Semitic קהל, *qahal*, to gather together, make an assembly; cf. קהלת = preacher.

10) Cf. Pers. خوار in the sense of 'poor,' and verb خوار داشتن = to despise.

11) *det* seems clearly to mean 'yesterday.' Pesh. reads *det-makhur*, and his explanation is ingenious [i. e., *det*=Z. *dvaitya*(?), 'second'+ Semitic *morning*, 'morning']. But this is very doubtful. The Zend for 'second' is *bitya*. He ought to compare Old

with three obeisances; in every place and time he cultivated purity and the splendour of this world: and today, on account of his condition of impurity, everyone who placeth his hand upon him, is thereafter obliged to purify himself by the *baresnum*, or else to the worship of God and the conversation of the good they do not admit him.

‘Yesterday, on account of the pomp of his sovereignty, he gave not his hand to any one: today, on account of his condition of impurity, no man placeth his hand on him.

‘Ye men of the world! being upright, go ye forward in your conduct, with thoughts of justice, the accomplishment of duty, and in the duty of creatures be ye active and lively. At the same time, also due measure in doing your duty observe ye; and in the duties of religion be liberal and in unanimity with the just.

‘Harkening to the admonitions of those who give advice concerning life, with respect to action, observe also moderation.

‘With your own lot be content; and the natural lot of any man do not grasp at.

‘In giving to the poor, mean inconstancy do not practice.

va denman martûm pavan 3 gâm nazdiktar yehevûnt pavan kolâ gâg va zemân aharâyih va cabû-i çtîh barâ afzût va la-denman yôm bahar-i rîmanîh râi kolâ mano yadman mehîm hinkhitûnît adinash pavan bareshnûm avâyit *khalabûnaçtano*¹² ayuf pavan yajeshno Yazdân val hampûrçakîh-i shapîrânô lâ shed kûnand.

Ditmîhr *shikâh*¹³-i khûtâih râi yadman val khadash lâ yehebûnt la-denman yôm bahar-i rîmanîh râi khadash yadman mehîm lâ hinkhitûnît.

Anshûtâân-i gêhân drût homand yezitûnêt râyinîshno pavan mîmîshno-i râçt kêr varjîgarîh va-pavan kêr-i gehânîkân tvakhshâk va zivânand yehevûnêt *agnîno*¹⁴ va patmân pavan kûr yehçûnêt va-pavan kêr-i dinâk rât va râçtân hamijânô yehevûnêt andaraj guftârânô-i jân andaraj-i nyokshîtâr pavan andâjak val kêr va-patmânô vakhdûnêt pavân bahar-i nafshman khurgand yehevûnêt va-bahar-i ahûo khadîh al shavazrûnet pavan deheshn-i daregûshân *sipauj*¹⁵ *vaçârîh*¹⁶ al vakhdûnêt

Persian *duvitiya*, (the Gâthâs have *duibitya*). There is a Parsi word *did, ded*=second, which West thinks a “misreading” of Huzvareš 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎. Still I do not see why it should not really represent the O. P. *duvitiya*. As regards the second part, Peshotan’s derivation is very doubtful. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 and its allies are always used (like our ‘morrow’) for the following day—tomorrow. May the word perhaps be *mîhîr* (Z. *mithra*) i. e., the Sun, used in the sense of ‘day?’ The Modern Persian for ‘yesterday’ is *dî rûz* (دی روز), and this *dî* represents, according to Darmesteter, (*Etudes Iraniennes*, I. 251), a presumed O. P. **dyet* or Zend **zyô*=Sanskrit *hyas* and Greek *χθες*, Lat. *her-i*, our *yes-ter*. Can the Pehl. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 or *det* (*dyet*?) in any way belong to this?

12) Apparently the Semitic root seen in Heb. 𐤃𐤋𐤁, to free, loosen, and Ar. 𐤃𐤋𐤁, loosing, 𐤃𐤋𐤁, looser.

13) Cf. Pers. شکوه = pomp.

14) Pesh. reads *ainîne*, but the sense seems to agree better with Parsi *agnîa*, ‘at one time, at once, together,’ with which West compares P. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎, (Darmesteter, i. 251, connects this with *nun, nun-c*, &c.)

15) Pesh. takes this as ‘loan,’ (P. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎), but the meaning ‘short of duration, short, weak, fragile,’ [lit. ‘fifteen,’ *si + paúj* = 3 × 5] here suits better, as used by Firdusi.

16) Parsi *vastâri*, P. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎, ‘weakness, frailty, inconstancy.’

‘Observe that when sickness comes, sovereignty and wealth go away. Vast wealth and esteem, obscurity and poverty, pass away. Here below life is short ; in the next world, there is a long road, and a rough adversary and a just judge, and merit cannot be got on loan.

‘Deceit and bribery do not practice ; and for the soul’s sake, afflict not the body.

‘Again, ye must have done many meritorious actions, or else ye will not be able to pass over the Cinvat Bridge. There the judge is of such a nature as Mitro and Rasht.

‘Be ye of the Good Religion, and ye shall go to Garôtmân.

‘Do ye no injury in order to become glorious. For scrutiny and examination concerning every time and every individual must come to pass.

‘Consider this world as a caravanserai ; and keep your body in peace and virtue in your action ; and sin with toil must be thrust away, and heaven must be made one’s own. [?]

3. ‘Let this too be said, to wit ; Every man ought to know this, viz: from what I have come, and why I am here below, and again into what I must go ; moreover, what is required of me.

‘Now I know this, to wit ; From before the Majesty of Aûharmazd I have come, and for the purpose of overthrowing the Evil Spirit [or, falsehood] I am here ; and again before the Majes’y of Aûharmazd must I go ;

Barâ nikîrêt aighâ eigûn azâr yehevûnît khûtâih va-khvâçtak barâ vazlûnît cabû-i çtavar va dûshârm va dûshkhvârih va *daryûshûh*¹⁷ barâ vitrît letamman zivandakih andak va tamman râç-i dûr va-hamîmâli shkaft va dû-tûbar-i râçt va-kerfak pavan *avôm*¹⁸ la *ashkakhûnd*.¹⁹

Druj va-*pâruk*²⁰ la vakhdûnêt va tano rûbân râi lâ *makdrânêt*.²¹

Barâ hamat kabed kerfak kart yekavîmûnêt ayuf pavan Cinvat pûhal nitartâno lâ tubân tamman dátobar âvîno eigûn Mitro Rashnu.

Veh - dînân yehevûnêt vad Garôtmân yehevûnêt.

Afçosh al vahdûnêt vad gadman homand yehevûnêt maman vînakih va *gvî-târih*²² pavan kolâ gâç va-pavan kolâ khadih shâyit yehevûntano,

Çtik pavan *asparj*²³ yehçûnêt va tano pavan açâno niûkih pavan kart yehçûnêt va bazak pavan ranj çpoj vaminôi pavan nafshman kûnishno.²⁴

3. Denman-ac guft yekavîmûnît aigha kolâ khadih barâ avâyit khavitûnaçtano aigha men aigha yâtûnt homanam va maman latamman homanam afam lakhvâr val aigha avâyit vazlûntano afam maman afash bavîhûnand va li denman khavitûnam aigha men pêsh-i Aûharmazd khûtâi barâ yâtûnt homanam va *çtobûnûtano*²⁵-i druj râi latamman homanam lakhvâr val pêsh-i Aûharmazd khutâ

17) Notice the *constructio chiastica*.

18) Cf. Pers. وام =debt, loan ; وام دادن =to lend.

19) To find ; from the aphel of שׁוּחַ.

20) Cf. Zend *pâru* =debt, sin ; Pers. بيارد =bribe.

21) Evidently from Semitic כָּדַר, כָּדַר, =to trouble, vex, afflict ; cf. Syr. حَرِيضٌ =infirmus, [There is another *makdrântano*, which seems to be from كَبَلٌ, De Harlez, *Manuel du Pehlvi*, p. 283]. To explain this passage, it must be remembered that Mazdeism altogether rejects corporal mortification and austerities,—in striking contrast to the Hindu creeds.

22) Cf. Pers. جویدن =to seek, search.

23) This is Parsi *aspañgh*, and Pers. سپنج.

24) I am doubtful about this passage.

25) Cf. *çtôbu*=beaten down, P. ستود.

moreover, this is required of me,—holiness and the actions proper to the wise and the living in union with wisdom and also the regulation, of my natural disposition.”

4. May Chosroës, King of Kings, Son of Kobad, be immortal-souled, who made this admonition and gave this command ! So be it !

It needs no words of mine to emphasize the lofty morality and noble sentiments of this dying discourse, worthy of a Christian monarch, and far surpassing in its reverent humility the words which Xenophon puts into the mouth of his hero.

It would be interesting, had we space, to compare the string of precepts here given

avâyt vazlûntano afam ahârâyih afash bavî-
hûnand va *khvêskharîh*²⁶ i dânakân va ham-
zînîshnîh i khart ayuf vîrâyishn-i khîm.

4. Anoshak rûbân yehevûnât Khuçrôî
Malkâân Malkâi Kavâtân mano denman
andarj kart afash denman farmân yehebûnt
*âitûno yehevûnât.*²⁷

with other specimens of the sententious philosophy of Mazdeism, as found for instance in the *Maïoryo-i Khard*, and elsewhere.

Whether the discourse be really what it professes to be, or as apocryphal as Xenophon's, at any rate, it will remain one of the most beautiful pieces of Pehlevi literature,

L. C. CASARTELLI.

26) A very expressive term ; lit. the business, proper occupation (*khvêsh*=self + \sqrt{kar}).

27) Exactly the French *ainsi soit-il!*

SWORN OBLIGATIONS IN EGYPTIAN AND BABYLONIAN LAW.

NOTHING is more frequent in old Egyptian law than contracts under the form of an oath or an adjuration to the gods. Perhaps it is on that account that debts were called *sanch* (adjurations). No bond could have appeared, at first, to a religious nation, stronger than a promise made before the divinity. Among the Romans themselves a stipulation was not thing else but an oath after all, as is proved by the solemn question : *Spondesne?* — *Spondeo.*

From the time of contracts—that is to say, since Boechoris, the written deed replaced, little by little, the oral oath, which was specially retained for lawsuits.¹ Nevertheless we find, even at the latest period, *obligationes fuciendi aut non fuciendi* by adjurations to

the gods. In illustration of this may be cited the ostrakon no. 12065 of the British Museum, in which a man named Petamenapi, son of Hoe, engages, before the god Momt-neb-maun, to remain quiet, and to abstain from exercising his rights, in the year 27, from such a month to such another later month.

In another oath, preserved on the papyrus 147 of Berlin, and drawn up in the year 22 of one of the Ptolemies, one of the parties swears, before Anubis, to pay an argenteus at a certain fixed date.

In yet another (upon papyrus), of which we have already spoken in the *Revue Egyptologique*, Petkêš engages himself to give over certain properties to a girl whom he is accused of having seduced; and in fact he fulfils his

¹ See, for this question, the last number of the *Revue Egyptologique*.

"[Ina] Samas-addannu son of Bel...by Beland Nebo and king Darius, king of Babylon and countries, with regard to Issartaribi, son of Ramanu-ibni, establishes this: As for me, the 15th of the month of Abu of the 12th year of Darius, king of Babylon and king of countries, I will give to Issartaribi 8 shekels and a half of silver, (credit of) Issartaribi son of Ramanu-ibni, upon me.

"Witnesses: &c.

"Sippara, the 28th of Duzu of the 12th year of Darius king of Babylon and countries."

The name *Issartaribi* is curious. The divine element being applied to a female divinity, as the third pers. fem. indicates, *Taribi*, recalls the name of the goddess *Istar*, and it appears to us very probable that it is a designation of that goddess. The ideogram which has the readings *sar* or *šar*, signifies 'to write,' and represents, from this point of view, in a Semitic language the verb *sataru* or *šataru*. The syllable which precedes would thus be one of those phonetic complements as frequent in Babylonian as in Egyptian.

Another oath, (No. 118 of our collection), relates to the time of the delivery of a sheep which belonged to him by whom this oath was taken, following the terms of the contract constituting his title as creditor. After the verb (transitive form of , from which we have determined the value in the sense of *to establish* by oath, *to swear*, this text continues thus :

"As far as relates to me, in the month of Airu, conformably to thy credit which is upon me, thy sheep [shall be] received by

thee. (word-for-word : 'thy reception')."

The word *ediru* is that substantive which we find so frequently in the formula of guarantee: *butu ediru sa kaspā* such an one *nasi*. "For the receipt of the money such an one holds himself security."

We find the same formulæ in another text of our own collection (No. 140), and in this contract it is a question as to lands planted with date-palms, &c., delivered for culture to some gardeners, and we have the direct proof of what we surmised as to the oath of Ardia, of which the text has been published by Mr. Strassmaier (No. 176), and which we have translated in the appendix of the course of lectures made by one of us, upon "Contracts in Egyptian law, compared with the other legal systems of antiquity," (*Obligations en droit égyptien comparé avec les autres droits de l'antiquité*). We shall have, however, to come back shortly to the oath of Ardia, when speaking of certain questions, (exceedingly important from a juridical point of view), which have been already raised— notably one concerning the possible transfer of a slave as part-payment (*sinhariis*).

In all these deeds, dated uniformly in the reign of Darius, after the verb , the formula of the oath continues with the words: "As for what relates to me," (word-for-word: "like towards me"). But upon one tablet, more ancient, since it goes back to the reign of Nerglissar, No. 1824 of the Museum of the Louvre, these words do not follow *itesib* in an oath taken on another class of debt similarly at the time, upon the gods and the reigning king. It is concerned with a fiscal debt

setta and Canope: (*Chrestomathie démotique*, passim), &c. We note that, after the word "deposit," between the lines, there has been added this fixed delay to the demand for this deposit... }p, 2, "until..."

3) We do not accept the reading *ittemi*, from *tamu*, loqui, colloqui.

𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 𐭮𐭲 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 𐭮𐭲 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲, and Gimillu, this chief of the fisc, 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲, of whom there is such frequent mention in deeds of this period, granting, according to his custom, to the debtor to the royal treasury a very short delay, (here till the 30th of the month Sivan, and the deed is dated the 27th), exacts, moreover, the formal oath that the sum due shall be deposited on the day indicated, the 30th of Sivan.

In the Egyptian oath, of which we have

spoken above, there is a style of expression which one often finds in Babylonian transactions. In fact, immediately after the formula of adjuration our Egyptian deed begins with the words "On the day when..." words which occur at the beginning of many Babylonian documents, and which commence also certain special classes of deeds of greater length. Besides the tablets copied by Mr. Strassmaier, No. 130 of our collection may also be specially mentioned.

E. ET V. REVILOUT.

RANIAN STUDIES.—II.

THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE PAHLAVI.

(Concluded from p. 95.)

12. The primitive form *malkin*, plur. Aram. of *Malek malká*, indicates also that it is the Semitic word, and not only the graphical form, which has been borrowed.

13. Some Sassanian kings, Schapur III., Yezdegerd III., Pirúz, took the Arabian title *Kadi* in place of the Aramean *Malká*; was this also to be read simply *shah*? And if the first word was pronounced, why was not the second likewise? (See MORDTMANN, *Die Münzen der Sassaniden. Zeitschrift de D. M. G.*, p. 72, 100—102, 104, 109.)

14. A last fact, exterior, it is true, but not the less convincing, is the persistence of the Persians in giving a pronunciation to the Huzvaresh words.

At some period which we can fix, we see them setting themselves to transmit these from the dictionaries in which the pronunciation of these terms is carefully noted. In consequence of what phenomenon would they suddenly have taken it into their heads to give certain sounds to some signs which were not destitute of them, and how would they have

succeeded in restoring to them their proper nature since the state of decadence and ignorance of these Persianisms had reached its extreme point. It will be objected, perhaps, that there are numerous errors in the traditional transcription of the Parsees; but this would be in vain. The same errors rule in the reading of the Persian words which, without doubt, had not been expressed by simple figurative signs. The most important words of the Iranian Pahlavi are badly transcribed by the Parsees; even the names of their God, which they read *yadadán* and *Auhomá* in place of *yazadán* (*yazatán*), and *Auharmazd*. The errors are the same in the two classes of words, and probably from the same source—the neo-Persian pronunciation and the deceptive form of the letters. Thus 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 is read *jamnún-atan* for *yemlaluntan*, as 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 is read *játo* for *yazato*.⁸

15. As a last resource, the partizans of the ideographic explanation generally make this tirade: "If the Pahlavi was composed

8) The Samaritan has *laíti* like the Pârsi *nísti*.

thus, it was a very ridiculous language." Ridiculous! It may be; but less singular in any case than that in which the Persian words pronounced, were mixed with Aramean words, written in all the letters, but without any value of their own, only to recall the recollection of their Persian synonyms. What would we say of a Frenchman who took it into his head to write in this style, half in his own language, and half in German:

Was willez-euch qu'il thât contre drei ?
qu'il stârbût ;

and to give this as the reading :

Que voulez-vous qu'il fit contre trois ?
qu'il mourût.

Yet that is the figurative Pahlavi!

The other is represented to us, e. g., by these phrases which we can imagine in the grammars and journals :

Herr X., privat-dozent der national oeconomic, director des mineralogischen Museums, ist zum ordinarius an den Universität K. ernannt worden ;

Der Caporal hat die Soldaten exercirt.

Between the Pahlavi and this sort of German there is nothing but the distance, more or less. It is true that the difference extends to some essential points, the pronouns and the particles, but that pertains to the exceptional nature of the Huzvareh, whose words have never been incorporated in the Persian vocabulary, and were not employed except in an occasional affectation of learning.

This leads us to speak, finally, of the nature, the origin, and the strong points of the Pahlavi Huzvareh. But before that, let us recall two facts which throw a strong light upon this question—the different kinds of languages which were spoken in Persia in the middle age, and the influence of the Aramaic in that country.

a. As to the first point, Ibn Muqaffa informs us that five different languages were spoken in Persia, viz., the *Pahlavi* in the country of the Media, situated on the Caspian sea; the *Devi*, originally from the East, and spoken at all the courts of the Princes; the *Fârsi* the tongue of the *Fârs*, spoken by the

Mobedi and the literati; the *Khusi*, which the kings and the nobles used in their domestic relations, in their pleasure parties, &c., and, lastly, the *Syriac*, used in the region of *Sewad*. The Arabian author adds that correspondence was conducted in a special language *Syro-Persian*. (See *Journal des Savants*, 1840; p. 412, ff., Article Quatrième).

We have no need to enter on any discussion relative to the precise sense of the terms of Ibn Muqaffa, whatever it may be and although it may even leave some inexactness; it results in an irrefragable testimony that, in Sassanian Persia, the educated classes created for themselves at pleasure different languages for the different circumstances of life. One was the official speech of their kings and great persons; another that of their familiar relations; while another was that used for correspondence. And, to note one thing, that of their correspondence, of their writings, (*al Kâtibat*) is a sort of language, with a vocabulary (*al leghat*) Syro-Persian (*bâ'l*) *siryâni fârsi*).

b. The position of Syrian in Persia is too well known, and has been too often set forth, for us to need to stop here again. We may confine ourselves to recalling some facts which will make us understand its extent.

The *Syriac* was one of the languages spoken at the Persian court as Ibn Muqaffa, Ibn Hauqal, and others, testify. Paul the Persian wrote in *Syriac* a dialectical treatise for the king, Khosrow Anoshirvân.

Sergius of Resam, bishop and archpriest, wrote likewise in *Syriac* a book on logic for Theodosius, bishop of Merv. The Persians, according to the testimony of Moses of Khoren, had burned the Greek books in Armenia; they had forbidden the Greeks of that country to teach their language, and had prescribed for them the *Syriac*; (see L. III. ch. liv.)

Theophylact informs us that Khosrow had studied the astronomy of the Chaldeans. And Epiphaneus testifies that the Persians employed the language of Palmyra, (*De hæresibus*, t. II. p. 269). We know the Syrian

school of Edessa, founded by the Persians, from which the Nestorians were scattered over Persia, favoured by the Sassanian kings. The Persian Catholic Bishops used Syriac as an ecclesiastical language; the acts of the Council of Ctesiphon were drawn up in Syriac. The Christians of Persia emigrated to the south and to Ethiopia, where they continued the use of the Syriac.⁹ These are the Syrians who, as we are aware, initiated the Arabs into the study of literature and the sciences. Manes and his disciples wrote in Syriac.

These premisses being granted, the history of the Pahlavi-Huzvaresh appears to us to be one of great simplicity.

Already under the Achemenides, Assyrian played a grand rôle in the Persian Empires. Darius I caused to be engraven, in Greek and Assyrian, on the columns raised on the shores of the Bosphorus, the names of the peoples of whom his army was composed. (*Herod.* IV). Assyrian fell into desuetude; the Aramaic replaced it; and the influence of this language was not less great. It grew to a large extent under the Seleucides. All these princes or their Arsacide successors began to introduce the use of Aramean words mixed with Persian; just as German had encroached on some French words, under Frederick II, and French on some Spanish or Italian terms in the time of the League and of Mazarin; but this in a manner quite different and proper to the East. This use of parasite Aramean words in conversation, and the mania of the great in Persia for creating special jargons, (a mania attested by Ibn Maqaffa, Ibn Hauqal, the Meragid ul ittila, &c.), gave birth to this singular kind of language, invented, not

for speech, but for the correspondence of the lettered classes, and clearly indicated as such by the Arabian authors. The Aramean words were introduced in large numbers into this kind of writing; a special style of formation had been adopted for the Aramean nouns and verbs. But these foreign words were nothing but simple ideograms without proper graphical value, and represent figuratively certain Persian words. The Aramean terms were taken as such; and he who employed them, as well as he who read them, knew their sound and signification; being free, as to this latter point, to read the Aramean word or to substitute mentally for it its Iranian correspondent. This character of Aramean terms is shown us by the text of Ibn Maqaffa, who calls this kind of language, not a mode of reading or writing (*hijâ*) at all, but a vocabulary, a language (*leghat*). "Correspondence," he says, "was conducted in a sort of language *fî nû men leghat, bâl sîryânî jârsî*."

The use of Aramean words was not determined by fixed rule. People employed or rejected at will those which were already admitted, or they introduced new ones quite as arbitrarily, bending them all to the received laws of formation.¹⁰ But these laws had been formed progressively, as may be seen in the inscription of Sapor, where we find verbal forms without any other suffix than *itân*, then provided with personal and modal suffixes, even *hōman* being used without a suffix.

This custom probably lasted for two or three centuries, and the translation of the Avesta was written in that manner. But the Zoroastrian kings of Persia perceived

9) "Notum ex historicis ecclesiasticis et catalogo Syrorum scriptorum Ebed Jesu Patriarchæ." LACROZE, *Thesaurus epistolarum*, t. III., p. 82. Cf. *Journal Asiatique*, 1839, Mémoire sur les Nabatéens de Quatremère. Spec. pp. 214, 255, 257. *Id.*, Avril, 1852; p. 320. Mémoire de M. Renan.—DE SACY, *Mémoire sur diverses antiquités de la Perse*, &c., pp. 38, 119, 121.—PATKANIAN, *Essai d'une histoire des Sassanides d'après les historiens arméniens*, traduit par Proudhomme, Paris, 1866; p. 38.—RENAN, *Histoire générale des langues Semétiques*, pp... &c., &c.

10) These laws have been indicated in my *Manuel de Pehlvi*, pp. xi, xii, 16 ff.

soon that the extension of Syriac favoured that of Christianity, in which it served as a sacred language in Persia. Guided by this idea, king Behram Ghour forbade the vulgar use of Syriac. The Huzvaresh would have succumbed under this blow, if it had not been employed in the sacred books of Zoroastrianism. There, nothing could touch it without sacrilege.

As to the spoken language, it had not been impeached by the mania for Aramæicizing, or had been so indeed but very faintly. The Persian people and the soldiers never had said, or could say anything but *Shakân shah*, while geographical and other proper names were not affected by this mania. And thus, when the Huzvaresh was no longer in use except among the Mazdean doctors, the Pârsî (*fîrsî*) or middle-Persian was exhibited in its integrity in writing, and the Persians wrote it as they spoke it.

The origin of the Pahlavi was not sacerdotal, but civil and political; the kings used it first for their inscriptions and their coins; the Dasturs adopted it when it had been already developed and formed a methodical system. We are able thus to trace the land-marks; a use of Aramean words, by one and by twos only for coins, probably extended into the language, but without making these words enter into the vocabulary as any integral part, if that were not perhaps a restricted enough number; extension of the use in writing, formation of a system permitting the employment *ad libitum* of a multitude of words or Aramean radicals with Persian finals, as in German, *soldaten, exerciren*, foreign subjects adapting themselves to German suffixes with addition, sometimes by the special forms of the radicals, (*ir, &c.*),— formation of an artificial language for correspondence and books; repression of the use of Aramean and complete reading in Persian; suppression of Aramean words written but not pronounced. What specially characterizes

my explanation is that it rejects the sacerdotal origin of the Pahlavi; again, that in place of seeing in the Pahlavi a pure and simple cryptography from its commencement, the use of words and radicals which were not pronounced either in whole or in part, it recognises in it the extension of a practice founded on the real use of a certain number of Aramean words admitted into the spoken language as well as into its writing. This explanation of the annals of the Pahlavi Huzvaresh seems to me to reply of itself to all the difficulties raised on the one side and the other. We shall be happy, however, to see those which we may not have foreseen formulated, and this interesting question definitively solved.

* * *

Since the foregoing pages were written, a fact set forth very fully and learnedly by M. Senart, *Journal Asiatique*, Sept. — Oct., 1886, pp. 518 ff. has appeared, and completely confirms our argument. In his last study of the inscription of Piyadasi, M. Senart shows us a conventional language, a capricious and unequal mixture, prâkrit and classical Sanscrit, to which he gives the name of mixed Sanscrit, in which he recognises an incoherent pêle-mêle of forms and words pertaining to both idioms. This language, employed in the inscriptions, in treatises both in prose and poetry, can be explained, as the author remarks, neither by the pedantry of a particular scribe, nor by vulgar ignorance, nor by a poetical jargon. Still less can we see in it the direct expression of the current language at any one period of its development. Not less impossible would be the hypothesis of a use of words, forms, or Sanscrit radicals, intended exclusively to be read in prâkrit. Mixed Sanscrit is evidently, like the Pahlavi, a conventional language, the result of a custom, restricted at first, then always increasing and completely conventional, serving exclusively for writing and the inscriptions.

Like the Pahlavi, mixed Sanscrit is without rule, without fixity, but all following in one general direction.

There are, doubtless, remarkable differences between these two artificial idioms ; but they are only accessory to our point of view ; and the foundation, the essence, are the same on both sides. And this was being used in India at the same period when the Pahlavi was employed in Persia.

We need not search for instances beyond the boundaries of Persia. Soon after the Arabian conquest the Persian language was intermingled with Arabic words, as the idiom of the Sassanides was with Aramean. And Firdusi was able to banish the foreign terms, and write pure Persian, as the Parsis could free their religious books from the Aramean intruders, and conform the written to the spoken language. Between these two similar cases there was but a difference which our last words expressed precisely. Pahlavi was to spoken idiom ; and the introduction of

Aramean words was rare and sporadic, although it is to be considered as the source of the mingled mode of writing. Arabic words in modern Persian conserve, it is true, their proper form and suffixes ; but in this the Pahlavi mode is more conform to the general usage, which we have seen abundantly exemplified in *mineralien, realien, soldaten, exerciren, &c., &c.*

We may thus divide the history of Pahlavi into three periods.

1. Aramean words are introduced into the common language of Persia in the same way as foreign terms are borrowed in any other country.

2. This usage is extended in the written idioms, inscriptions, books, &c. ; so that Aramean and Persian words are intermingled and exchanged according to one's own fancy.

3. Aramean is expelled from the literary ground, and remains but for the show in Mazdean books.

C. DE HARLEZ.

IRANIAN STUDIES—III. GOD=K'HADĀTA ?

I have read, with great pleasure Mr. Baynes' interesting study on GOD = K'ADĀTA. It would certainly be desirable to obtain a solution of the question of the origin of the Germanic word *guth, Gott, God*. But, notwithstanding the erudition of the learned author, it seems me rather difficult to admit the solution proposed, for the following reasons,

1. The word written *K'ad'āta* or *Qad'āta* is nothing but a bad transcription, as may be seen in my *Manuel de la langue Avestique*. The only admissible transcription is *hva, hva*. In fact the character which is transcribed *k'a* has always in the manuscripts the form ω , composed of ω , absolutely identical with the Pahlavi ω , and containing certainly a *u*, *v*, and a strongly aspirated ω . Hence it results that *God, guth*, ought to correspond to an Aryan *sudhāta*, should it be primitive, or a Germanic *gu, go*, corresponding to an Aryan *sra* ; these might have been admitted in the eighteenth century, but at this day

no one would even think of such a thing.

2. The expression *sudhāta* is not Aryan ; we cannot find it anywhere outside the Avesta. It is a term exclusively proper to the Avestic or Zoroastrian philosophy. That *θεος* is derived from *σθεθετος θετος* > *θεος* is inadmissible. We cannot then suppose that the term *svalāta* has been taken by the Germans from the common source and transformed into *guth, God*. It would be necessary in that case that the Germans should have borrowed the word directly from the Avestic land. But that supposition even is not admissible. In fact ;—

3. In the Avesta the sense of the word *hval'āta* is very obscure ; but in any case, as may be seen from my translation, it never designates the divinity. Ahura Mazda is not described by *hval'āta*. That epithet is exclusively proper to, and reserved for, the beings who personify all, or part of, time and space whom the Avestic philosophy supposes

1) Or, of light, the habitat of Ahura Mazda.

to be eternal and not created or *stid'âta*. To suppose a proper name is in *poura hvadâta* is absolutely without reason. All testimony indicates that this word is a qualificative; in any case it cannot be connected with God.

4. Persians, like every other nation, did not know the word *hvadâta*; it was not used except in the learned language of the authors of the Avesta; no one beyond them, knew it; the Avesta itself was not known certainly at that time to more than two or three Greek philosophers. How should the Germans, who were besides in the north of Europe have understood and borrowed a term unknown beyond certain mountainous districts of Asia? What motive could they have in adopting and applying it to God?

5. The Germans already used the words *guth*, *God*, in the third century of our era, since Ulfilas adopted it in his translation of the Gospels. Now at this time the Persian-Pahlavi *Khudât* was nothing yet but a transcription of the Avestic, and was in no way connected with the divinity. The word *Khudâ* which we find in the Pahlavi books of the fifth and sixth centuries, has still the exclusive sense 'king', 'master', 'chief.' Thus *katah-khudâ* is 'the head of the house'. It was only later that *khudâ* and its varieties took the sense of Supreme Master, God. How could the Goths have borrowed this word

by giving it a sense which its generator had not till a long time afterwards, and with which it had spread only among some neighbouring Iranian tribes and some non-Iranians (dwelling further to the East.

6. It is very doubtful if *khudâ* comes from *hvad'âta*. The last term has given *khudât* in Middle Persian or Pahlavi. It would be difficult to explain the transformation of the form and the sense of this word. *Khudâ* with its varieties is much rather connected with *khûd*, *khaûd*, *khresh*, 'by himself,' 'to himself,' 'independant;' Avestic *hvato*, Sscr. *svatas*), from which 'master, sovereign, king.'

It is therefore impossible to discover any channel of communication between *Guth*, *god*, and *hvad'âta*. The only way which can be conceived, it appears to me, to obtain this derivation would be to suppose that the word *Guth* is an invention of Ulfilas, who took the word *khudâ* from some people of Iranian origin, who had already employed it then in the sense of 'chief, king,' and that the apostle of the Goths made it the name of the divinity, although it was entirely unknown to his nation. Was it this which made him a proselytiser of the people? Otherwise is the fundamental supposition admissible? And if it were, it would only bring us back to *Kvad'âta*.

C. DE HARLEZ.

ABSTRACT OF THE

HIBBERT LECTURES ON THE RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT BABYLONIANS,

BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D.

LECTURE I.

Sources of our knowledge almost wholly monumental. Only a few notices in the Old Testament, and some statements in classical authors, for the most part the offspring of Greek imagination. Tradition is mute. Texts are difficult. Religion loves to cloak itself in mystery. No wonder, therefore, if the sacred texts were made intentionally difficult. The Accadians preceded the Babylonians, and therefore we have to distinguish between the Accadian and Semitic elements in the language of these texts. The greatest difficulty is that

our tablets come from the library of Assurbanipal at Nineveh, and the Assyrians did not represent all sides of the Babylonian religion. No tablets older than 800 B.C. Hence the difficulty of telling the age of the myths that are given in them. 2000 B.C., the Accadian was superceded by the Semite. They brought new theological conceptions. The sun-god was their supreme object of worship. The union of their ideas with those of the Accadians formed a state religion that was carefully watched over. Old theories had to be thrown aside when a text of Nabonidus

was discovered, showing that Sargon I, the first Semite king, lived 3750 B.C. He is said to have been born of an unknown father, probably some unnamed god. The story of his preservation among the rushes on the banks of the Euphrates reminds us of Romulus and Remus, and still more of Moses. He crossed to Cyprus after conquering Syria. At this time the Semite mind was absorbing Accadian religious ideas.

But of what interest is the religion of the Babylonians to us? A moment's thought will suggest it; for Jewish religion influences Christianity, and Jewish religion was bound up with Jewish history. The lesson is to be taught them that the God of the Jews is the God of the whole world. The Babylonians were the chosen instruments to do this. Our knowledge of Babylonian religion teaches us that the Jews did not fail to learn from them in the seventy years of captivity.

Light is thrown on the Bible by the Babylonian religion. Sargon was the founder of the state and law-giver, as Moses was in Israel. Origin of word Moses. None in the Hebrew lexicon. Assyrian equivalent *mâsu* occurs frequently; it means "hero." It was given to Adar and Meodach. Joseph may also be explained from Babylonia—*asipu* means "diviner."

The king performed many functions of high priest in Assyria. Like Solomon, he could pour out libations to the gods. Pure water was used for washing the hands, &c., and deep basins, much like "the sea," made by Solomon. In the temple the "holy of holies" was concealed by a veil.

The ark of the Hebrews was a ship in Babylonia. The sabbath was also known. It is called an "unlawful day," "rest day," "a day of rest for the heart." Seven was a sacred number.

LECTURE II.—MERODACH OF BABYLON.

Nabonidus, the last independent king of Babylon, is said to have been overthrown because he tried to centralise Babylonian worship. The anger of Merodach was aroused, and he chose Cyrus as sovereign of Chaldaea. Like that of the House of David, the overthrow of Nabonidus was ascribed to divine anger.

Babylonian religion was always local, and the supremacy of Merodach was confined to Babylon. In this it presents a contrast to the god of Darius, mentioned

on the rock of Behistun, who would brook no rival. In Judah Yahveh is supreme—a jealous God. Who is Merodach? He is the protector of Babylon—the Belos of the Greeks, and the "Baal" of the Old Testament. His temple at Babylon is described by Herodotos. The inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar give us much information, and serve to correct Herodotos in the details. This temple dates from B.C. 2250. Its name is *E-suggila*. The Chapel dedicated to Nebo, was called *E-zidu*. Merodach is called *riminu*, "merciful"; the law-god is also called by this title. *E-suggila* was also the temple of the sun. Probably Merodach was a solar deity.

His combat with the dragon Tiamat. He restores the light of the moon after it had been eclipsed. He is termed "the first-born of the gods," but he is, in one sense, the youngest of them all. This was only a title of honour. From the time of Cyrus, he began to lose his local character and became the god of all men everywhere. Before this time, however, the local view had disappeared from Assyria. Certain Assyrian kings revered Merodach with the fervour of Babylonians.

Every god was provided with his female reflection. Zarpanit was the wife of Merodach. Nebo was his son. *Nabû* means proclaimer. He was the god of the literary. In a literary age the Hebrews changed "seer" to *Nebi*. Tasmit, "the hearer," was his wife. The Semites of Babylon resembled their brethren in Canaan. The Canaanites had "lords many." The Assyrians were warriors, and education was confined to a class. We have to learn Assyrian religion from the learned. Their religion only differed from that of the Babylonians in that a new god, the national deity Asur rises, who claimed to be king above all gods. The Assyrian kings turn to Asur for deliverance in the moment of distress. At first he was local, but the removal of the capital to Nineveh and the unity of Assyria enabled a national feeling for him to grow up. Like the Yahveh of Israel, he was the national god of a race. Like Yahveh, also, he had no goddess by his side. He was also less near to his worshippers, and hence more awe-inspiring; under some circumstances there might have been developed as pure a faith with Assur as with Yahveh of Israel.

S. A. S.

ORIENTAL WORK OF ENGLISH SOCIETIES.

EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND.

A second report has come from Dr. Edw. Naville on 'The Necropolis of *Tell-el-Yahoodieh*,' the 'mound of the Jews,' which is supposed to be the site of the city of Onia, founded by the Jewish hereditary high priest Onias, who, in the second century B. C. fled from the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, and obtained leave from Ptolemy Philometor to build in Egypt "a temple to Almighty God, after the pattern of that in Jerusalem." Excavations made by the learned explorer, with the help of Mr F. Llewellyn Griffith, have brought to light several remains from the early period of the XIIIth downwards to the XXIIInd dynasty. In the immediate neighbourhood, a large number of tombs were unearthed; their inscriptions pointed almost unmistakeably to a Jewish origin. Still further out in the desert, a necropolis of artificial tumuli has yielded some 50 or 60 terra-cotta coffins, curiously resembling the 'slipper-coffins' found at Warka in Babylonia. (On these latter coffins, found in prodigious number and attributed to the Parthian period, cf. Loftus, *Chaldea and Susiana*, p. 203). Near Alexandria, Count d' Hulst, excavating for the same E. E. F., has discovered an early Christian cemetery.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

The *Quarterly Statement* just issued, contains an explanation and sensible letter of Capt. Conder, referring to his so-pompously-announced complete decipherment of the Hittite inscriptions. He says: "All that I claim to have done is to restore the known sounds of the symbols to the language to which they belong, to show that this was the Hittite language, and to put in the hands of specialists the key which will enable them to make final and complete translations of the text." Capt. Conder seems to think the characters syllabic and the language Turanian.

ROYAL ARCHEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE. MAY 5.

Mr W. St Chad Boscawen, *The Babylonian Sun-God, a study in Comparative mythology*.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, MAY 2

Surgeon-General Bellew, read *Notes on the Names borne by some of the tribes of Afghanistan*, where he assimilated from sheer semblance of names, many modern tribes with those mentioned by Herodotus. He was strongly opposed by Sir Henry Rawlinson, who objected to the process of comparison, insufficient in itself to prove the duration of tribes, as shown by historical instances. Dr. M. A. Stein added some further proofs to show that the forms of the names in Herodotus are not reliable. The quarterly *Journal* of this society contains among articles within our range—*Description of the Noble Sanctuary at Jerusalem in 1470, A.D.*, by Kamal (or Shams) *ad Din as sufiys*. Extracts retranslated by Guy le Strange, *The Tri-Ratna*, by Frederic Pincott; and among the notes—*Assyrian Names of Domestic Animals*, by Theo. G. Pinches.

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY, APRIL 21.

Mr. S. Stuart Glennie, M.A.—*The White Race, founder of the first civilisations*. The view of the author, which he has supported with great erudition and extensive research, was that this white race was neither Semitic nor Aryan; and an article of this magazine, No. 2, p. 25, was much praised and utilised.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHEOLOGY.

The proceedings of the meetings of March 1st contain among other papers—*An Egyptian Description of the XIIIth Dynasty*, in the Dublin National Museum, by Dr. A. Macalister; *Euphratean Names of the Constellation Ursa Major*, by Robert Brown, Jun.; *The Metrical Structure of Ginhth*, the book of Lamentations, arranged according to the original measures, by Rev. C. J. Ball. At the following meeting, May 3rd, the Rev. H. G. Tomkins presented his M.S. of *The Topography of Northern Syria, with special reference to the Karnak Lists of Thothemes III*, an important work on which the author was engaged for several years; MM. Eugène and Victor Revillout, *Egyptian and Assyrian Documents*.

VICTORIA INSTITUTE, MAY 2.

Prof. Hull, L.L.D.—*Petra, the Rock-hewn capital of Idumæa*, was described by the traveller, with historical references.

NOTES, NEWS AND QUERIES.

ZUMRU AND ZAMĀRU.

Well are these two words known to Assyriologists. The former means "body," and the latter "to sing," "to bray—" meanings which are widely different. Yet both these words come from the same root.

The root expressed by the consonants Z M R is one that is much used in the Semitic tongues. The general meaning is "to sing" (in Arabic "to play the flute"). How, then, is the meaning of "body" for *zumru* to be accounted for? It is the Arabic which supplies the key. One of the meanings of the Arabic *zamara* is "to fill (a leathern bottle)," and it is from this idea of making the hollow thing give out sounds, or else from that of playing music by means of skin bagpipes that the word *zumru* has obtained, first the meaning of skin, then that of body. The Akkadian character *su*, of which *zumru* is a translation, has the meaning of *mašku* "skin," and *širu*, "flesh," besides that of "body," thus confirming the derivation here suggested.

T. G. P.

We would specially call attention to three articles in the current number of "Hebraica." One is by the Rev. J. F. X. O'Connor, S. J., who treats of the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar. The second gives a series of very valuable corrections to the published inscriptions of Esarhaddon, and is by Robert F. Harper, Ph. D., who promises to continue the subject in the July number of the journal. The Rev. Prof. T. K. Cheyne also discusses the possibility of the Heb. *mabbāl* (מבול) and *nephilim* (נפילים) being connected with the Babylonian roots *nabālu* and (a possible) *napālu*. We are glad to see Assyriology recognised by scholars of note outside what may be called the ranks of the specialists,

ANSWERS TO QUERIES ON p. 80, (No. 5).

The spoken and the written languages of Assyria differed greatly. The former was more irregular, but often also more conservative in its forms, and certain dialects preserved words and phrases not found in the written language of Nineveh and Babylon. The spoken language is shown best in the letters and reports sent from the various provinces. An example of one of these docu-

ments will be found in the *B. & O. R.* for January, p. 43.

Semitic Babylonian or Assyrian is most closely allied to Hebrew—indeed, it may be regarded as the mother-speech, for the home of Abraham, the father of so many ancient nations, was "Ur of the Chaldees" (Gen. xi. v. 28 & 31). The Chaldeans were simply a number of tribes dwelling in Babylonia who spoke a language very much like that of the Chaldee portions of the Bible. This is proved by the name of one of their chiefs, who was called Dakkuru (from the root דכר = זכר); a name which shows the common change of ק (Hebrew) into ד (Chaldee). If we are right in calling the many docketts on the contract-tablets from Assyria and Babylonia *Aramean*, it seems likely that these last-named spoke a language which was closer akin to Hebrew and Semitic Babylonian or Assyrian, than to Chaldee, though a portion of them probably spoke a dialect similar to that of the Aramaic or Syriac of the manuscripts. It may, therefore, from documentary evidence be regarded as certain that at least three Semitic dialects were spoken in Babylonia and Assyria, besides the non-Semitic tongues, Sumerian, Akkadian, and, perhaps, Kassite. T.G.P.

FORTHCOMING PAPERS. Arthur Amiaud; "The various names of Sumer and Akkad in the Cuneiform Texts." Prof. S. Beal: "Fragments of a life of the Buddha (*P'u yao king*)." W. St C. Boscawen: "New Assyrian Tablets." Rob. Brown, Jun.: "Euphratean Astronomical names in Hezychios." Dr. L. C. Casartelli: "Pehlevi Notes. II. A Parallel to the Pehlevi Jargon." J. S. Stuart Glennie, M.A.: "The Kushites and the white race founder of civilization." Dr. T. de Lacouperie: "Tattooing;—Babylonia and China. — I. The shifted Cardinal Points. II. Utuku-Shamash and Tik-Shang-ti." Dr. Julius Oppert: "A Juridic Cuneiform Text." Theo. G. Pinches: "The Babylonians and Assyrians as maritime nations, (continued.)" S. Alden Smith: "The Borsippa inscription of Nebuchadnezzar." Dr. Mark Aurel Stein: "An inscription from the Heri Rûd valley.—Iranian deities on Indo-Sycthian coins." T. Tyler, M.A.: "On the Hittite inscription of the Yuzgat seal." Dr. Hayes Ward: "Babylonian cylinders with figures of the soul."

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THE

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BABYLONIA AND CHINA.

I.

WESTERN ORIGIN OF THE EARLY CHINESE CIVILIZATION.

THE place of China in the past and future is not that which it was long supposed to be. Recent researches have disclosed that its civilization, like ours, was variously derived from the same old focus of culture of South Western Asia, and that its evolution has not remained undisturbed by, nor foreign to, the great movements which occurred in the history of the western world. Its part in the general concert of mankind is an historical fact, though, perhaps, unknown still to many, as the discoveries which have produced this great change in our knowledge, have generally remained, as yet, buried in scientific papers scattered in periodicals, collections and special works.

I.

In accordance with Biblical views, though not with any special words of Scripture, and with preconceived opinions but without any scientific proofs, the Chinese, and therefore their civilization, were said, by many ancient writers, to have come from the plains of Sennaar after the Confusion of Babel! At variance with these views, the language of the Chinese was for long wrongly looked upon by recent writers, as branched off from the common speech, previously to the latter event, or independently from it, and as a crystallized remnant of the primitive language gratuitously supposed to have been inorganic and monosyllabic! This opinion, which, some twenty years ago, was still

currently received, is now rapidly disappearing, as it cannot, in any way, stand the search of modern criticism based on a better knowledge of the general and special conditions of the case.

The Rev. Prof. James Legge, then at Hong Kong, in 1865, 1871 and 1875, in his valuable introductions to his edition of the Shu King, Shi King and Tchun-tsiu, had called attention to the smallness of the beginnings of the Chinese (also pointed out by Prof. R. K. Douglas in several of his works), and to their knowledge of the art of writing when they arrived in the country. Working on the same line, in 1863, the Rev. Dr. James Chalmers, also at Hong Kong, in his pamphlet on *The Origin of the Chinese*, took the gilt away from the shining and much adorned traditions concerning the early Chinese leaders, and, at the same time, was enabled in some desultory comparisons, to point out several affinities between the civilisation of China and those of the west.

The Rev. Dr. Joseph Edkins, of Peking, in his book *China's Place in Philology*, published in 1871, endeavoured to show that the Chinese, migrated after the Confusion of Babel, had carried with them the same germs of civilization that were possessed by their Hamitic brethren of Babylonia! Whence, by a separate development of the same germs, several similarities have sprung up between the civilization of China and that of Babylon. And he upheld, in 1876, the ancient view that the Chinese were the inventors of their own writing.

As a correlative opinion to the preceding, notions were also entertained of a self-development of the Chinese from the level of savage life to their high state of culture, which was unparalleled in Europe five hundred years ago. But those groundless speculations, themselves the basis of further speculations altogether in the air, were useful only as a temporary hypothesis showing the deficient character of the opposite views.

After having spent a great deal of time in vain researches for satisfactory evidence of a common descent of the Chinese civilization with that of S. W. Asia, as had been suggested by several eminent scholars, the present writer found himself led by his studies in an unexpected direction, and soon felt solid ground under his feet. Since then fresh proofs have been continuously forthcoming from various parts in support of his discovery, precisising or rectifying its details, and establishing it finally as an important historical advance.

II.

It was my good fortune to be able to show, in an uninterrupted series of a score or so, of papers in periodicals, of communications to the Royal Asiatic Society and elsewhere published and unpublished, and of contributions to several works, since April, 1880, downwards, that the writing and some knowledge of arts, science and government of the early Chinese, more or less enumerated below, were derived from the old civilization of Babylonia through the secondary focus of Susiana, and that this derivation was a social fact, resulting not from scientific teaching but from practical intercourse of some length between the Susian confederation and the future civilizers of the Chinese, the Bak tribes, who from their neighbouring settlements in the N., moved eastwards at the time of the great rising of the XXIII century B.C.

Coming again in the field, Dr. J. Edkins has joined me on the same line, making it his object, in several papers, to find among the minor points borrowed of Babylonian and ancient Persian civilization in China, those which were introduced through later channels than that of the early civilizers. Everyone of these cases has to be judged on its own merits, as in the wrecked state of old Chinese documents, positive proofs, in one way or another, are often wanting.

III.

Some three scores of distinct and unmistakable affinities may be pointed out in the ancient civilization of China with that of Babylonia and Susiana, the largest part of which, by far, brought in by the early civilizers.

We shall here enumerate them briefly :

(1) The art of writing, (2) from top to bottom and from right to left as was the practice in S. W. Asia, and (3) not in relief but engraved, (4) characters derived from those of Babylonia and still semi-hieroglyphical, with (5) their meanings, (6) their phonetic and polyphonic values, and (7) their imperfect system of acrology and phonetism ; (8) probably some written texts ; (9) the use of lists of written characters arranged (10) phonetically, and (11) ideographically ; (12) some souvenirs of the cuneiform or monumental form of writing ; (13) the extensive use of seals, &c. ; (14) the shifted cardinal points of Assyro-Babylonia, and (15) the symbols to write them, which they further embroiled during their journey eastwards ; (16) astronomical instruments ; (17) many names of stars and constellations ; (18) of twenty-four stellar points ; (19) the twelve Babylonian months, (20) with an intercalary one, (21) and a certain use of the week ; (22) the erection of lofty terraces for astronomical purposes, &c. ; (23) the machinery of imperial government ; (24) titles of dignities, and (25) the names of several offices with which they had been made familiar with near Susiana ; (26) the system of twelve pastors ; (27) the concept of four regions, (28) and a special officer bearing that title ; (29) the political idea

of a Middle Kingdom; (30) many proper names which, appearing in their beginning and, once restored to an approximation of their old form, are easily recognised as similar to some names used in the aforesaid S. W. Asiatic countries, &c.; (31) the cycle of ten, and (32) that of twelve; (33) several standard measures; (34) the twelve scales of music; (35) the decimal notation; (36) the ten periods, &c.; (37) the wheat, which is aboriginal in Mesopotamia only; (38) the arts of clay-brick building, (39) of embanking rivers, and (40) of making canals; (41) many words of Akkado-Sumerian and Babylonian civilization; (42) the use of metals; and also (43) many minor notions of arts and sciences, such as (44) the fire drill, (45) the use of war-chariots with horses harnessed abreast, &c.; (46) the practice of divination and (47) the use of eight wands of fate; (48) known terms of good or bad fortune; (49) numerical categories; (50) the symbolic tree of life or calendaric plant; (51) special emblems on their rulers' dress; (52) the worship or at least the name of Utuku (—Tik) otherwise Shamash as supreme god; (53) the six honoured ones, or the six gods of Susiana; (54) the ruling idea that events repeat themselves; (55) the lucky and unlucky days; (56) the mythical colours of planets; (57) the concept of Yin and Yang (not Persian); (58) large square altars, &c.; (59) the royal canon of Babylonia; (60) many peculiar legends therein, &c., &c.

This list, however long, is not complete and could be extended, but such as it is, its seven classes constitute the most for-

midable array of facts which has ever been put forward in support of an historical discovery. Many of these facts have the greatest importance, and infuse value into a few others which isolate would be rather insignificant by themselves. About ten of them, and curiously enough not the most important, had been quoted before me by the aforesaid scholars. With few exceptions all the others have been pointed out and more or less discussed and explained by me. But some of them deserve a special treatment, which they shall receive in a few articles to appear from time to time in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*.

The above list of derivations and loans is limited to one only of the several currents which have entered into the formation of the Chinese civilization. And though we are here exclusively concerned with antiquarian research, we cannot help directing the attention of our readers to the important fact that the derivation of the civilization of the Chinese partly from the same source as ours, and the youth of their greatness as an empire and powerful nation, are matters of great concern for the future of mankind of the whole of which they constitute one fourth. Youth implies progress and development, and their economical conditions, so different from ours, make the unavoidable and pacific competition between them and old Europe, an affair of general interest.

T. DE LACOUPERIE.

SOME BABYLONIAN CYLINDERS.

I am obliged to Mr. T. Tyler for his conjecture that the half-bird form taken by the personage being led into the presence of the sitting god on certain Babylonian Cylinders, as in that in my possession on which he comments in the February number of this journal, merely indicated that it is the soul of a deceased person,

Certainly the Egyptian monuments often represent the soul by a bird. So far as I know, however, it is only the culprit soul which is thus represented on the Babylonian cylinders, while in other cases the person led into the presence of the god has the human form.

Mr. Tyler mentions one other analagou-

seal. There are eight seals known to me having this scene depicted upon them. These are to be found in Cullimore's "Oriental Cylinders," No. 85 and 147; Lajard's "Culte de Mithra," pl. xxix., fig. 2, and pl. xxxii., fig. 8; Ménant's "Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux à la Haye," fig. 12; and my own in *Scribner's Magazine*, January, 1887, p. 86, repeated by Mr. Tyler in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, No. 4. Besides these six there are two unpublished, mentioned by Ménant in his "Cylindres de la Chaldée," pp. 108, 109, of which one is in the Louvre and the other in the British Museum. The fact that there is only this single one (Mr. Tyler says there is not one) in the British Museum's magnificent collection, and none in Le Clercy's almost equally fine collection, shows how scarce this type is.

These cylinders belong to a very closely related family, and I think they all came out of the same workshop. Of the six seals published five have streams of water flowing from the body of the seated God, and in three cases the water is further indicated by the presence of fishes. In four cases the bird figure is being both pulled and pushed in by force. In two others he is pushed by the figure behind, but not led by that in front. In one of these cases, however, (Lajard, xxix., 2), and I think in both (see Cullimore, No. 85), the figure in front has two faces drawn, a mere pictorial device, one looking forward at the God, and the other watching the culprit behind him. In the case of the unpublished British Museum cylinder, described by Ménant (Cyl. de la Chaldée, p. 109) the culprit stands between his two attendants, but neither has his hand upon him. On two cylinders there is, besides the God and three usual figures, a fourth behind them who has no more relation to the scene than the figure of the Pope has in Raphael's Sistine Madonna, but represents a wor-

shipper, perhaps the owner of the seal, in one case carrying a victim for sacrifice, and in the other bearing a bundle on a staff over his shoulder. The size of these cylinders is generally large, the material of various stones, green jasper, white marble, serpentine, and white agate, and I presume they are generally constructed in the middle, making their vertical line concave. Unfortunately we seldom know whereabouts between Cyprus and Persia a cylinder was found. The five in my possession I purchased in Baghdad, and I judge they all came from Southern Babylonia, and are of a very early period, perhaps 2000 B.C. or earlier. They resemble each other so much that they might well have come from the same workshop. Such little points as the identical state of the God's stool, and of the crescent worn, seem to indicate more than a common School of Art. Ménant finds evidence in the coiffure of the culprit that they belong to the school of the city of Erech. This point is worth considering, as it falls in with what is, if I am not mistaken, a general rule that the divine beings are distinguished from the human on the old cylinders by their headdress. The culprit, on these seals, may well be a human soul, as it always, in the cylinders whose condition allows us to tell, wears this peculiar long queue hanging down, and then doubled up in the middle and then tied. I notice that in the two cylinders in which a worshiper is added to the two who conduct the culprit, the hair is thus dressed, while the divine figures wear their horned tiaras. This way of wearing the queue is very different from that in another series of cylinders in which it hangs straight down the back after the Chinese style. These ancient styles of hair-dressing deserve consideration of those who, like Prof. de Lacouperie, find evidence of an early period between the Chaldeans and the Chinese. Whether they

mark a special locality or race in Babylonia, as well as period, is not yet clear.

I am not unfamiliar with the idea that the irregular oval object seen on the altar in some of the latest Babylonian cylinders is, as Mr. Tyler supposes, phallic; but the evidence that such is the case is not familiar to me. Certainly the presence of the number 15 somewhere in the field on a similar cylinder in the British Museum, with no accompanying ideogram for *God*, is not sufficient to connect this oval object with the goddess Ishtar. The marks Mr. Tyler discovers on my lapis lazuli seal are not fifteen in number, but thirteen, and belong to the same ladder like markings as are found on a number of similar seals (see Lajard, pl. xxxix., figs. 4, 6). The sun, crescent, star and horns, found indifferently surmounting this oval object on these cylinders, do not suggest that it is a cone of Venus. On the earlier "boundary stones" this object takes the form of a succession of pairs of horns, one above another, which hardly allows a phallic origin. My own impression is that the oval figures on the cylinders are of somewhat more conventional forms of the hive-shaped objects adorned with horns on the boundary stones, in which case the ladder shaped indication of the median line where the six pair of horns, more or less, join at their points. The number of cross lines on the oval objects figured by Lajard are respectively eleven and twelve on one cylinder, and ten and sixteen on another. The number has no significance, but is a matter of accident.

No one could see the cylinder of mine, to which Mr. Harrison refers in his letter on p. 68 of this journal, without being reminded, as was Mr. Harrison, of the passage, John vii., 38,—“Out of his belly shall flow streams of living water.” I had it in my mind when I made the description to minute on this point. But I still fail so make the connection between the cylinder and the passage which Mr. Harrison makes. There is an impassable gulp of many revolutions between the time of the ancient Babylonian Empire and the time of Christ, and I cannot conceive how a very rare symbolism of Ancient Chaldea could have come down, even in Babylon, to the times of Herod and Pilate. Besides, I think that where streams proceed from the person of the God they generally flow from his shoulders. I do not remember another case in which they flow from the belly. The figures to be considered are Cullimore, Nos. 118 (Is there here a bird-form misconceived as half-bull ?), 147; Lajard, xxxix., figs. 1, 2; xxx., 4; and xxxii., 8; Menant, “Cyl. de la Chaldee,” pp. 106, 112; and Collection De Clercq, pl. xxxviii., No. 83, *his*.

I would wish to add a correction of my article in *Scribner's Monthly* for last January. When I wrote that article I followed Menant in supposing the cylinders which have a gate on them to represent the passage of the soul through the gates of the lower world. This explanation I would withdraw, and I discuss these seals somewhat fully in a paper soon to appear in the *American Journal of Archaeology*.

WILLIAM HAYES WARD.

A SETTLEMENT OF ACCOUNTS IN NABOPOLASSAR'S TIME.

DOCUMENTS of the reign of Nabopolassar, especially the contracts, have hitherto been rather rare—at least it would appear so from the publications containing cuneiform texts.

We have, however, a certain number of them in our own collection. Here, for example, is a document of the reign of this king, referring to a settlement of accounts:

that this little tablet, with its two lines of writing, came from what may be regarded as the Royal Record-Office of Aššur-bani-āpli at Nineveh.

The name *Daumu* is peculiar for a woman — we should expect the fem. *Daumat*. The meaning of the former is probably the same as the latter,—"darkness." Compare the phrase *Šamaš ina āši-šu daummat-su²lissuh*, "may the Sungod in his rising remove his

darkness?" (W. A. I. IV., 14, No. 2, l. 28). The root is *dāmu* or *dāamu*.³ *Mār* const. of *nāru*, the common word for "child."—*Mati*, gen. of *mutu*, "husband."—*Taškāni*, 3rd pers. fem. Aorist of *šakā*, "to give to drink" (Heb. טָשַׁק), with suffixed *ni*.—*Talāku-šuni*, 3rd pers. fem. Aor. of *dāku* (*dāku*), "to kill," with suffixed pronoun *-šu*, and particle *-ni*, as above.

THEO. G. PINCHES.

2) The double *m* here is probably merely a graphic variant.

3) The reading *Šaumu* is also possible.

THE VARIOUS NAMES OF SUMER AND AKKAD IN THE CUNEIFORM TEXTS.

NEARLY all Assyriologists have agreed, for a considerable time past, to seek in the geographical names of Sumer and Akkad the appellations for the two principal dialects of the non-Semitic language of Chaldaea. They differ on this point only, that some of them would discern the language of the South, the Sumerian, in the dialect which expresses 'god' by "*dīngir*," while the others prefer to see in this dialect the language of the North, or Akkadian.¹ Prof. Fritz Hommel, in several of his recent works, and Dr. Lehmann, in his recent thesis, have pronounced themselves completely against both these opinions. They are nothing short of certain, in their view, that the two Chaldaean dialects were not regional. According to these writers, they represent rather two successive conditions of the same language, common to the whole of Babylonia and Chaldaea. The more ancient was that which pronounced *dīngir*, the more recent that which pronounced *dimmer*. Prof. Hommel and Dr. Lehmann have, therefore, refused to distinguish the appellations of Sumerian and Akkadian. I am much disposed to rank myself as of their opinion; and I wish to attempt now to show that the truth, in this question as in many others, has been discovered, for the first time, by our eminent master, Prof. J. Oppert.

We read indeed in the *Journal Asiatique*, January, 1873, p. 114: "Dans son cours au Collège de France, M. Oppert a établi



que le véritable nom à donner à cet idiome antique était celui de *Sumérien* et non pas celui d'*Accadien*, que les Anglais avaient cru pouvoir choisir..... Dans les textes cunéiformes, les rois, même de la dernière époque, s'appellent rois des Sourners et des Accads. De ces deux appellations, les Accads représentent le peuple sémitique, et les Sourners la nationalité touranienne. De plus, l'idéogramme exprimant le nom de Soumer est écrit par deux signes, dont l'un signifie 'langue' et l'autre 'adoration'; Soumer veut donc dire 'langue sacrée.' Le signe d'Accad exprime aussi le pays d'Ararat, ce qui dénote une provenance septentrionale; de plus, cet idéogramme d'Accad signifiant la Babylonie semble être formé de celui d'Assour superposé à lui-même.

"Dans un texte, les grammairiens d'Assour sont identifiés à ceux d'Accad; dans un autre, un texte assyrien est qualifié de document accadien; et, si nous ne nommions pas la langue '*assyrienne*,' il nous faudrait la nommer '*accadienne*.'"

I have purposely reproduced here the complete passage from the *Journal Asiatique*, although the progress of science permits us to-day to retain only the first and last lines. It will serve, however, to show precisely the modifications which I believe should be made upon the opinion of M. Oppert.

We meet frequently enough, in the texts in the Assyrian language, to designate the






1) As we understand here in England, the Akkadian (or Old Sumerian) is the dialect where 'god' is *dīngir*, while in Sumerian (or neo-Sumerian) it is *dimmer*.—T. de L.

whole of Babylonia, the expression "land of Sumer and Akkad," which was written phonetically *mât Sumeri u Akkadî*, (see Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 196). From the period when this reading was established (and it was already existent in the inscriptions of Hammurabi), Sumer and Akkad were considered as one country,² or rather as two countries united into only one and subject to the same power. For it is undeniable that they had been originally distinct, and that the remembrance of the distinction did perpetuate itself to the latest times. That is proved by the primitive Sumerian expression *Kieugi Kiburbar*, which contains twice the word for "country." *Ki*, and even by a variety of the Assyrian readings, *mât Sumeri mât Akkadî*, which we meet in the synchronous history of the kingdoms of Babylonia and Assyria, (ii, 65, a, 52). Now of the two names of Sumer and Akkad, one only has survived in the usual geography. We indeed find in the inscriptions a country designated by the sole name of Akkad, (see Pognon, *Inscription de Bavian*, p. 125, ff., and Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 199), and we can fix with considerable certainty the northern boundary of this country, towards Assyria, on the lower Zab, or little Zab. But we never find the indication of a land of Sumer geographically isolated. M. Pognon, who believed that he had disclosed this indication in the inscription of Samsî Rammân IV (col. 4, l. 26), has doubtless been in error. The sign which he sought to identify with , (*Bavian*, p. 130), appears to me to be a different sign, to be read perhaps , *ina sîhirti*.³ Besides, Sumer is never expressed by the ideogram *eme* alone, but always by the complex *mât Eme-ku*. We can now no longer quote as evidence of the existence of the land of Sumer at the time of the Semitic domination, V, 29, c, 45 to 47, which is nothing but a fragment of a


lexicon, and which had no other object except to explain, by decomposing, so to speak, piece by piece, the traditional title of the kings of Babylonia: *lugal Kingi Kiburbar*. From the geographical point of view, it is clear that this fragment cannot have had, since the time of its composition, anything but a purely historical value. Besides, having admitted that the land of Sumer should represent southern Babylonia, which is quite probable, Prof. Delitzsch ought to have added that it was impossible to decide where the exact limit of Sumer and Akkad should be placed (*Paradies*, p. 200).

I would willingly believe that the greater number of the Assyrians and Babylonians of the last millenary before Christ would not have been, on that question, much less embarrassed than Prof. Delitzsch. If I am not mistaken, the land of Sumer and its boundaries could not then, nor perhaps for a long time previously, have been known except to historians and the learned. Let me explain. The most ancient civilization of Babylonia was a non-Semitic civilization, whose focus must be sought for in Lower Chaldaea, that is to say, in the land of Sumer. The masters of this country must have, at a very remote period, extended their power over the Babylonia of the North, or land of Akkad, inhabited already by a Semitic population; hence the title taken by them, "kings of Sumer and Akkad." This Semitic population yielded to the influence of the more advanced civilization of the Sumerians; it adopted a great part of their religious ideas, and accepted their tongue as the learned and sacred language. At the same time, it absorbed them. Little by little, the Semites became more numerous and stronger: they attained the supremacy. The Sumerian race intermingled with the younger race; and Sumerian ceased to be spoken, giving place to the Babylo-Assyrian language. It con-


2) See Pognon, *L'inscription de Bavian*, p. 129 & ff.

3) Cf. i, 48, no. 9, l. 6, where  is used for  with the pronunciation *gil* or *kil*. Now , at least under the redoubled form , had the sense of *sîhirtu*. See Strassmaier, *Wörterverzeichnis*, no. 6640.

tinned, however, to be cultivated and written. But from that time there is no mention of a land of Sumer, except in historical recollections, and in some formulas consecrated by tradition. Lower Babylonia is no longer described except by the names of the Semitic principalities which had been founded there, (for example, *mât Bît Yakin* or *Tanali*), and the tribes which had been established there (*amelu Kallu*, *amelu Arumu*). Only sometimes, the name of *mât Kallu* or *amelu Kallu* appears to receive an almost general signification.

The most ancient non-Semitic reading to express the whole country of Sumer and Akkad was . This is proved by the inscriptions of all the ancient kings of Chaldaea and Babylonia. When Prof. Delitzsch puts in the same rank as this ancient reading (*Paradies*, p. 196), some orthographical variants, as *Kiengi Kiburbur ki*, or *Kingi burbur ki*, (ii. 50, d, 47, and cf. v. 29 e, 47), he no doubt makes a slight confusion, but that must now be avoided. These two variants are due to some scribes of the Assyrian language, more or less unfamiliar already with the Sumerian, and the texts, where they have been recovered, are in fact only texts relatively recent, written out in view of the instruction by the Semites for Semites. Hence the triple pleonastic repetition of *ki* in *Kiengi ki burbur ki*, the scribe having no longer recognised the presence of this *ki* in *Kiengi*. Hence also, in *Kingi burbur ki*, the mistaken use of *in* for *en*, and the rejection of the second *ki* at the end of the formula, while its place was originally before *burbur*. These observations, which appear frivolous, may acquire in some circumstances a certain importance for the exact interpretation of the words in question. Now the equivalence of the Sumerian *Kiengi Kiburbur*

and the Assyrian *mât Šumeri u Akkadî* is a fact long ago placed beyond doubt by the fragment of lexicon which I have already mentioned, v. 29 c, 45 to 47. But is it necessary to consider the Assyrian formula as a transcription, or only as a translation of the Sumerian formula? There are indeed some Assyriologists who admit that *Šumer* is nothing but a transcription of *Kiengi*, through the medium of dialectic forms, *Kengin*, *Šingir*.⁴ It would follow with great probability that *burbur* should have had in Sumerian the reading *Agadê*, of which the Assyrian *Akkad* would also be nothing more than a transcription. But I should find it difficult to explain how *Šumer* should come from *Kengi* or *Kiengi*, and above all from whence should come the final *r*. In my opinion *Kiengi* and *burbur* have nothing in common, phonetically speaking, with their translations *Šumer* and *Akkad*, any more than *dingir* with its translation *ilu*. Even from the point of view of the absolute sense, our two Sumerian terms have nothing in common with their Assyrian equivalents. In place of simply borrowing from the Sumerians their appellations of *Kiengi Kiburbur*, or of translating them literally, the Semites have preferred, I believe, to name each of the parts of Babylonia after the city which occupied the first rank in it.⁵ It was evidently at that time *Agadê*=*Akkadî* in the Babylonia of the North. We know today the very lofty antiquity of the Semitic dynasty of Sargon I, and of Naram-Sin, whose inscriptions are written out in Assyrian, and who entitle themselves only 'kings of Agadê,' but who must have reigned over Akkad in its entirety, since Nabonidus gave them the title of 'kings of Babylon,' (i. 69, col. 2, l. 30). As to the Babylonia of the South, it was perhaps *Girsu-ki*. Nothing prevents us, in fact, although certainly nothing compels us,

4) Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 220, 234. In my opinion, the dialectic form of *Kiengi* would rather be , (iv. 38, no. 1., col. 2, 35), as it must, perhaps, be read, according to an ingenious supposition of Prof. Hommel, (*Geschichte*, p. 236), *imi-ki*. Should this *imi-ki* be for *Ki-imi*? See, farther on

5) Cf. Hommel, *op. laud.*, p. 204.

to read the name of that city *Su-ugir*, whence **Sumer*, *Si-me-ir*, (cf. ii. 59, 6, 25). And I observe that a very ancient king, whom it has been a general inclination to place at an older date still than the patesis of Sirpulla, Uru-Kagina, is entitled 'king of Girsu' or 'Sungir.' In any case, whatever may be the name which has given birth to the Semitic *Šumer*, it is probably that of a city which held sway over Lower Chaldaea, about the period when the dynasty of Agadê ruled, that is to say, long before Larsa, and probably even before Ur. But this could not be the name of *Kiengi*.

What then do these words *Kiengi Kiburbar* used by the Sumerians mean? *Kiengi*, a lexicon informs us (ii. 39, b. 9), should be read *môtum*, 'country.' It was, then, 'the country,' *par excellence*, the native land, the country inhabited by the men of Sumerian race, where the national language was spoken; for generally the distinctive sign of a race is the language.⁶ Here, it seems to me, is a strange way to distinguish the land of Sumer from the land of Akkad, if the Akkadians were, indeed, of the same race as the Sumerians. And I add that the description of the land of Akkad by *Kiburbar* would not be less strange, if it were necessary to translate these words, as has been done, by 'land of the rivers,' or 'of the two rivers.' Akkad had no more right to such a name than Sumer. On the contrary, if the two countries were inhabited, at least at the period to which our appellations go back, by different races, we can very well understand how the land of Sumer had been termed by its inhabitants 'the country *par excellence*.' I would then willingly seek for an opposition of meaning between the two denominations of *Kiengi* and *Kiburbar*. We know the general tendency of peoples to treat as barbarians, as ἀγῶστοι, ἄβαστοι, *Nichtsz*, &c....

the neighbouring peoples whose language they do not understand. Perhaps we might, in that case, comprehend *Kiburbar* as 'the country of the barbarians, the country of the confused language.' Let us recall the etymology given by the Bible of the name of Babylon, the most celebrated, if not the first, capital of the land of Akkad. בָּבֶל would be for בָּבֶלֶב, 'stammering, confusion of tongues.' I in no wise pretend to affirm that such indeed would be the scientific etymology of the name *Babilu*, understood later as signifying, 'Gate of God,' nor that *Babilu* is derived from *barbur*, or from another possible pronunciation, *bulbul*. But there may possibly be here, at the groundwork of the legend of the Tower of Tongues, a remembrance, more or less distinct, of the ancient Sumerian appellation of Babylonia. However that may be, here is a text which, if I properly understand it, gives strong evidence in favour of the translation of *Kiburbar* which I propose. The lexicon ii. 30, b. 17 (cf. Strassmaier, no. 2231), explains $\text{𒀭𒂗𒍪} \text{ 𒀭𒂗𒍪} \text{ 𒀭𒂗𒍪}$ by *elilum*. *Gu barbar-ki-palé* is evidently 'to speak the language of Akkad;' for we know from ii. 7, b. 32, that $\text{𒀭𒂗𒍪} \text{ 𒀭𒂗𒍪} \text{ 𒀭𒂗𒍪}$ signifies *mutamâ*, 'he who pronounces, who speaks,' from *tamû*. Now it is not impossible that *elilum* may have here the sense of 'to speak badly, to stammer.' We can easily compare *elilum* with Heb. עֲלֵל, which still awaits a certain etymological explanation. The LXX nearly always renders עֲלֵל by *νήπιον*, whose primitive meaning is 'he who does not speak yet, infans;' and, indeed, עֲלֵל is usually employed in Hebrew to describe an infant of tender age, but who is no longer at the breast, since this word is perfectly distinguished from יוֹנֵק. See specially Samuel. xv. 3. and xxii. 19: גִּעְוֹלֵל וְעַד יוֹנֵק 'a parvulo usque ad lactentem.' It

6) I have also thought of decomposing *Kiengi* into *Ki+engi*, 'country of the language *par excellence*. Yet, even admitting that a primitive form could be maintained, *engi* 'tongue'=*eme*, I believe that in that sense they would rather have written in old Sumerian $\text{𒀭𒂗𒍪} \text{ 𒀭𒂗𒍪}$.

is plain, if the Sumerians could say, 'to speak the language of Akkad,' in the same sense as the Greeks said *ἑρῆσοφονίῳ*, that Sumer and Akkad were not countries of the same race and the same language. The Akkadians could not, in that case, be but Semites, and their language could not but be Babylonian.⁷

But how can we understand, if *Kiburbur* signifies in reality 'the land of stammering, of the barbarous language,' that the Babylonians themselves and, after them, the Assyrians, had accepted this little flattering expression to describe the land of Akkad, their own country? I should reply first that the words *Kiburbur* were to them only an ideographic writing, and that they replaced these, in reading, not by their exact translation, but only by an equivalent: 'the land of Akkad or of Agadê.' We can suppose also that, by a sort of play upon the words, of which examples are not rare among any people, the expression *Kiburbur* had been diverted from its primitive meaning and was explained by 'land of the rivers.' It is this at least which suggests the idea of an ideographic variant of the name of Akkad, 𒀭 𒍪 𒍪, which could also be pronounced *burbur* in Sumerian,⁸ a variant which does not appear except in the Assyrian texts, and which seems to me to be a Semitic invention.

A. AMAUD.

(To be continued.)

7) I may be allowed to remark here what importance this simple line, ii. 30b, 17 would assume in the controversy between the partisans and adversaries of the Sumerian, if my interpretation should become certain.

8) The identification of this variant with the land of Akkad is due to Rev. J. Strassmaier.

AN ASSYRIAN LEXICON.*

Two hours' study in the British Museum will convince anyone having a very moderate knowledge of Assyrian of the unreliableness of this publication. The pretensions of its author, who has for so many years referred Semitic scholars to this book, have been such as to raise the highest hopes. There are many scholars desirous of using Assyrian for comparative purposes who have not the time or opportunity to copy tablets, or collect a large glossary of words from the published inscriptions. It is, therefore, of the highest importance that a work like this should be especially accurate, as to the existence of the words which it treats or the copies of texts which it gives. This work has neither merit. Delitzsch has always shown that he cannot decide between that which is certain and that

which is probable or barely possible. All things in Assyrian are "perfectly clear to him. Assyrian inscriptions can be read like the *Times*." A man with such ghostly visions is not *per se* fitted for the sober task of working out a lexicon upon a sound philological basis. But what are the facts as to Delitzsch's ability to copy texts? The careful student of the third edition of his *Lesestücke* will be astonished at the bad copying it shows. Attention has been called in the *Expositor*, Sept. 1886, to the interesting conclusions that may be drawn from his copy of the "Heirathcontract," p. 125. It will only be necessary here to call to notice some important mistakes in K, 40, pp. 80-1 of the *Lesestücke*. Delitzsch has here failed to see that W. A. I. V, pl. 20 No. 3, is a duplicate of this and

**Assyrisches Wörterbuch zur gesammten bisher veröffentlichten Keilschriftliteratur unter Berücksichtigung zahlreicher unveröffentlichter Texte*: von Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1887.

that lines 29 and 30 in col. I a, and col. I b, l. 20-36 may all be completed from this fragment. In addition to this the following errors are to be noted. Col. I a, l. 13 is clearly to be read ∇ instead of Δ , col. II a, l. 15, Δ Δ Δ is a gloss; l. 17, there is no such character in Assyrian as he has drawn at the end of the line, but the original gives Δ Δ Δ quite clear; l. 35 Δ Δ , again is a gloss. There are everywhere inaccuracies in the forms of the characters, one of the most glaring of which is p. 81, col. I l. 57-8—the character following *ša*. The value of the character is unknown, but the learned professor ought to learn its form, for what he gives us here is little like that given by the Assyrian scribe. Perhaps the worst blunder in the text is to be found in col. II b, l. 70, where he has read Δ Δ instead of Δ Δ . The latter character is clear enough, and even if it were not, the reading *sa-ka-lu* l. 63, above ought to have shown him what must be read here.

Now the question comes: Do these inaccuracies go over into the *Wörterbuch*? In his copy of the part of the text just mentioned, published W. A. L. 26, in Col. III a, l. 68, he has failed to correct Δ Δ Δ into Δ Δ Δ , although a glance at l. 18 e, just above would have shown him the same character explained by Δ . Of course, if he has failed to correct these errors of copying in his publication of the texts, they will also be found in the *Wörterbuch*. Dr. Delitzsch has referred to this very text on the cover of his book. What is then the state of the case with those texts which he has given in the book itself, following a mixed, inaccurate and unscientific "Transcriptionsmethode"? His *Wörterbuch* is full of inaccuracies in the forms of the characters, as well as the most inexcusable blunders in copying. There are no less than fifteen mistakes in his copy of K. 525 (p. 111) — a letter containing 14 lines. In K 183 the following may be noted. In line 18, at the beginning, he has read *ha-mi-ri*, which is utterly impossible. The tablet is not very clear, but it is certain that Delitzsch's reading will not do: and it is highly

probable that the correct reading is *ha-di u ši-ša*, "joy and shouting," which suits the connection: l. 19, the reading is *ku-du-da-ate*. The third character cannot be Δ Δ as Delitzsch reads. The character preceding the last in l. 12 is clearly Δ Δ , and if it were not, how would the Professor translate his Δ Δ ? In S. 1064, a beautiful little tablet, he fails to read two words. The end of line 13 is to be read *ina ap-pi-ša* 'on his face.' Delitzsch gives us Δ Δ instead of Δ Δ , and the Δ Δ he cannot make out at all. The last word in l. 24 is *me-me-ai*. Cf. Pinches, in S. A. Smith's *Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals*, Heft II, p. 63. He tells us K. 542, l. 22, that there are two characters wanting. The reading here is Δ Δ Δ Δ . To show Delitzsch's limited knowledge of the characters, it may be noted that, on the margin opposite l. 21, as well as in the *Literar. Centralblatt*, Apr. 16, 1887, he has stated that Strassmaier reads *al-la bi-la*, while the fact is that Strassmaier does no such thing, but simply imitates the writing on the tablet, which makes only a very slight difference between the *la* and the *te*. The fact is that the learned Professor could not read the characters after they had been drawn for him.

Prof. Delitzsch some years ago changed the reading *iltu* of the English Assyriologists to *étlu*, 'lord,' but now he has returned, we are gratified to note, to this reading, and gives the root (p. 150) as Δ Δ Δ . In his note, p. 152 ff., he points to Dr. Jensen's proof of this reading ZA I, 399, and considers the root with Δ as now settled. If all this be true, how is it that Delitzsch gave "לתל₁ gross sein oder werden *étlu, etéllu* erhaben Herr," with so much certainty in his *Lese-stücke*, p. 138?

It is not here denied that he has been able to determine some new meanings for different roots, and to correct some mistakes in Strassmaier's copies, but that any one can do. Delitzsch has, however, by no means copied so well as Strassmaier. In his explanations he takes up too much space with

well-known words. Why, for instance, should three pages be devoted to the word *abu*, 'father'?

But it would be impossible to point out all the mistakes the writer has found by using the book only a few hours. He has not even singled out the worst ones so far as the copies of the texts are concerned. Their name is legion. This is but the first of ten parts which contains 168 autographed pages. The cost of it is one and one-half guineas.

After the work is finished the price for the whole will be £20, a price which puts it beyond the reach of most students of Assyrian. If the parts yet to come are not much better than this, since the work of Strassmaier is sufficient for the Semitic scholar, who can decide the meanings of the words from the passages there given at least as well as Prof. Delitzsch has done it, we must doubt very much whether he will contribute £20 worth to Assyrian lexicography.

BÉL-IBNÍ.

THE HIBBERT LECTURES.

LECTURE III.

Two gods to be considered—Ea and Bel. Ea was the god of the deep and of wisdom. Ea had the form of a fish and the voice of a man, came among men, taught them all things and returned to the sea, corresponds to the Oannes of the Greeks. The seat of the worship of Ea was Eridu, which means "good city." It stood at the mouth of the Euphrates, 4000 B.C. Was its culture imported? Is Ea of foreign origin? Lepsius said this culture was imported. But the civilization and the cuneiform writing were bound together and there is no trace of hieroglyphs. Telloh and Egypt were connected, as a stone testifies. Early commerce with India. Ea may have been foreign, but there is no proof of it. Ea was also the god of pure light.

Nipur was the home of another worship. Bel was the god—originally called *Mul-til*. *Lilat* or *Lilith*, the feminine of *lil* passed to the Hebrew (Isaiah). He caused the deluge, and was not allowed to come to the sacrifice. Long before this he was called Bel. Eridu and Nipur were the schools of Babylonian Semitic thought.

Ur was the seat of the worship of the moon. Each city had its moon-god. The sun-god was the off-spring of the moon-god. The moon is made to be a pale reflection of the sun. The Accadian idea was that the moon existed before the sun. Sippara was the great seat of the worship of the sun-god. This was the seat of early Semitic power. Wherever the Semite

conquered the sun-god was worshipped.

In Erech the sky was considered divine. In early times little was known of Ana. As the Semitic Anu he becomes known; Anu and Dagon are associated in Asurnazirpal. The word denoted originally the visible heaven, but later the invisible heaven. It was only a step further to make him the universe. Pantheistic rather than monotheistic. The god of the winds and tempest was Martu in Accadian. He was united with Rammanu, the air-god. The Masorites identified him with *rimmon*, the pomegranate. All was made Semitic wherever the Semites went. In Egypt the older Nubians drove out the Semites of the north after 500 years, but the older inhabitants of Babylonia were never so fortunate.

LECTURE IV.

One mythological poem is still preserved to us—The Descent of Istar into Hades. Affairs had come to a standstill in the upper world; a council of the gods was held and she was commissioned to descend to Hades, which she does. The poem throws light on the Old Testament. Jeremiah uses the same words—"Ah me." Tammuz and Istar of the Babylonians correspond to Adonis and Aphrodite of the Greeks. The goddess cries like the women of Judah. The death of Adonis announced his resurrection. The resurrection of Tammuz was commemorated as well as his death. In Babylonia Tammuz was the sun-god of spring, but afterwards became that of summer; his primitive home was in Eden

which the Babylonians placed in the vicinity of Eridu. The cedar was called the "tree of life," and was employed in incantations. The palm was much used and was possibly the "tree of life" of another place than Eridu.

Tammuz did not stand alone. Other cities knew of the destruction of sun-gods. Istar is at once the most faithful consort, and the most brilliant coquette. New elements entered into Istar. In the time of Asurbanipal and Nabonidus she is a combination. The is Semitic, but on a non-Semitic basis. She is not found in Arabia, but only where Accadian influence is felt. Traces of non-Semitic—1. She is not merely a female reflection, but independent. Tammuz is but the bridegroom of Istar. 2. The important difference between Istar and the Astoreth of Phœnicia. Astoreth was the goddess of the moon; Istar was not. Istar ceased to be the pure goddess of the evening star. The worshipper must mourn the loss of her consort with her. The abominations connected with her worship are denounced by the prophet, and beheld in astonishment by the Greeks. The Babylonians did not produce prophets, but scribes, who formed a purer worship.

The earlier kings of Assyria paid little attention to Istar, but with Esarhaddon all is changed. Asurbanipal inherits this devotion to Istar from him. In trouble the great king at once calls upon Istar. She is represented in human form. The deities of Babylonia are very human in form and character. There is a great contrast to the forms of Egyptian gods. This is also not true of Accadia as the older pictures show. In early times each tribe had its *totem* or animal.

The storm bird is identified with Zu. The wind, in many mythologies, is represented as a storm-bird descending downwards. He desires to become *Mul-til* and assumes his attributes, but is driven away and changed to a bird.

Sickness was ascribed to demoniacal possession. The plague was held to be divine. The Babylonians saw in the god of death another plague god.

LECTURE V.

The hymns introduce us to a world of

gods. The Babylonian Rig Veda. The peritential psalms are much like those in the Old Testament. They probably were produced gradually, and then were collected together and made sacred. The hymns are older than the text in which they are found. Medical receipts, differing little from one of to-day, are found in the midst of spells and incantations to drive away disease. It is thus seen that incantations gather around the hymns, and that divine worship was a performance and not a devotion. Sometimes there is no Accadian original. Hymns to the sun-god removed the curse that had fallen upon anyone. Many Accadian texts were not Accadian in origin; Accadian was learned like Latin in the middle ages. As an artificial literary language, Accadian maintained its place for centuries. We can detect them. Compositions containing Semitic ideas are of a later date. The flood I believe to be the product of the age of Asurbanipal. The story of Izdubar is a collection of historic accounts. The account of the deluge is compiled from two separate accounts, in one of which it is ascribed to the sun-god, and in the other to Bel. The Descent of Istar is composed from more than one original. There is often no connection.

Lenormant's theory is, in the main, still true; much remains to be explained. There is a *Zi*, or spirit, in all things. The arrow in the air, fire and the stars above, all had their spirits or life. Moral ideas are wholly wanting in the older hymns. They had not yet entered the garden of Eden and eaten of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Disease was regarded as possession by spirits. The medicine men expelled them. Animals as well as other objects had each a special spirit. The idea of the existence of good spirits and their superiority over the evil marked an advance. From this point we can trace development. The good and evil spirits are opposed to each other. The old medicine man became a priest. The earth and the sky were the first creators. The gods were amenable to the spells of the sorcerer.

We enter on the era of hymns. Two classes of hymns according to Dr. Hommel. 1. Those showing no connection with

magical ideas. 2. Those showing traces of them to a greater or less extent. The hymns all had a Semitic origin; the Accadian is merely a translation. The sun-god became the Samas of the Semites. The Accadian was acceptable to the gods. How far they have come to us in their original form we cannot say. Some we know have been changed. The gods become human, the old totemism has passed away. Family connection was introduced among the gods. A god cannot be addressed alone—a goddess is with him.

What were the views of the Babylonians concerning a future life? The earlier texts limit everything to this life. Their ideas of the ghost world were rather misty. Hades was that of Homer. Later the doctrine of the immortality of the soul is found. They prayed for life hereafter in the land of the Silver Sky.

LECTURE VI.

Theological ideas of creation are found very early. Some tried to account for the world by development, and to make the gods a development as well. There were two theories—the genealogical and the creative. The Semites regarded the world to be a birth or emanation; the Accadians considered it to have been created by the gods. The account of Berossus does not come directly from him; it was copied by Polyhistor. It includes two inconsistent accounts, which do not fit together. Both accounts tell us that there was a chaos at the beginning filled with life. The beginnings of Darwinism are to be found here. The legend of Cutha, that remains to us from the library at Nineveh, agrees in the main with Berossus. The watery abyss was the source of all things.

The creation tablet opens very much like Genesis. The cosmogony here given bears marks of a late date. The Tiamat of the first creation tablet and the Tiamat of the fourth are very different. I doubt whether in its present form it is older than

the time of Asurbanipal. The Assyrian cosmological tablet is very incomplete. The part preserved gives the creation of the host of heaven. Another tablet records the creation of animals. The Babylonian Genesis is neither simple nor uniform. In each case the present creation was preceded by another. Ea (Oannes) rose out of the Persian Gulf. Eridu gives us this idea; it went westward to the shores of the Mediterranean.

The creation story is the different theories put together. Its spirit is materialistic. The tablet states that heaven was first created out of the deep, just as in Genesis. It differs in two respects from the Bible. Instead of the creation of vegetation on the third day, there is an interpolation of chaos, and the seventh day is a day of work and not of rest.

Babylonia was really the cradle of astronomy. Before the temples were made the year was divided into twelve parts. Thus the zodiac had its origin. They had not learned to look for causes. They were guilty of the fallacy, "post hoc ergo propter hoc." Thus astrology grew up. It was assumed that if a war occurred at a certain time it would occur again when the same astronomical phenomenon should return.

Totemism pre-supposes a worship of the stars. It started from the prominence of the evening and morning stars. We should expect to find river worship. We do to some extent. We must remember that the rivers of Babylonia did not bring unmixed good like the Nile in Egypt. They required dams, and sometimes were the cause of great destruction. The greatest mound was Borsippa. The tablet giving an account of what I believe to be the building of the tower of Babel, identifies it with the illustrious mound. The worship of stones is also found.

S. A. S.

[No. II. of "Glimpses of Babylonian and Assyrian Life," entitled "A Babylonian Wedding," will appear in next number.]

ERRATA IN No. 7.—In the article "Sworn Obligations &c.," p. 102, l. 8, *read* $\underline{\text{z}}$ for $\underline{\text{z}}$ l. 10, $\underline{\text{z}}$ for $\underline{\text{z}}$: l. 13, 1st c., *delete* 'has:' ll. 14 & 15 "for ever, and every" for "with every other;" l. 16, "this ostrakon" for "these things;" l. 25 *insert* ∇ after the third character: p. 103, l. 36, 1st col. *read* at the end, $\text{>}\{\text{>}\ \underline{\text{z}}\ \nabla\ \text{>}\ \nabla$ (*van timka*); l. 38, at beginning, *read* ∇ (*sa*).

FORTHCOMING PAPERS. — Arthur Amiaud: "The various names of Sumer and Akkad in the Cuneiform texts," (concluded). "The countries of Mâgan and Mellhûa." Prof. S. Beal: "Fragments of a life of the Buddha" (*Iⁿ u yto King*). W. S. C. Boscawen: "New Assyrian Tablets." Robert Brown, jun.: "Remarks on some

Euphratean Astronomical Names in the Lexicon of Hésychios." Dr. L. C. Casartelli: "Pehlevi notes, II. A Parallel to the Pehlevi Jargon." J. S. Stuart Glennie, M.A.: "The Kushites and the white race founder of civilization." Dr. T. de Lacouperie: "Tattooing." "Babylonia and China, II. The shifted cardinal Points." "Dr. Julius Oppert: "A Juridic Cuneiform Text." Theo. G. Pinches: "A Babylonian Dower Contract." "The Babylonians and Assyrians as maritime nations," (continued). S. Alden Smith: "The Borsippa Inssription of Nebuchadnezzar." Dr. Mark Aurel Stein: "Iranian Deities on Indo-Scythian coins." "An Inscription from the Heri Rûd Valley." Thos. Tyler: "On the Hittite Inscription of the Yuzgat Seal."

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





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










THE
BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

The Editorial Committee is not responsible for the opinions or statements of the Contributors.

THE VARIOUS NAMES OF SUMER AND AKKAD
IN THE CUNEIFORM TEXTS.
(concluded from p. 124).

THE ideogram  employed to describe the land of Sumer should also be held, in my opinion, as of Semitic invention. It is certain that we never meet that ideogram in any cuneiform text before the period of Sargon. The earlier kings of Babylonia or Assyria, who had the title "kings of Sumer and Akkad," always had written phonetically *Šumeri*, when they had not preserved the ancient writing *Kiengi*. See, e. g., i. 35, No. 3, 20, and the inscription of Téglathphalasar II, published by Prof. Schrader. Not that I pretend to fix as late as Sargon the creation of the name *Eme-ku*. It is enough for me that it should be the work of the Semites of Mesopotamia, as far back, besides, as one would wish it to go. To deny that the Assyrians or Babylonians could have thought of creating out of all the parts a Sumerian expression, is impossible, because we have the case of Asarhaddon, giving to a palace which had been built by him the name of       *ékallu pá-gidat kalamu*, (i, 47, col. 6, l. 25). The Semites had properly excellent reasons to modify the primitive Sumerian appellations, if these indeed did signify "the land *par excellence*, and the land of the barbarians." It was they—these barbarians of another time, who now held the power, and who had inherited the civilization of their old masters: it was their language which reigned without a rival in the two countries. Yet they could not absolutely reverse the terms of the ancient formula, the Sumerian having become to them a sacred language. They felt contented to

seek for certain expressions more suitable to the new order of things.

They found these in    and in     . The texts only offer a single example of this last expression, discovered by an ingenious remark of Mr. Pinches, P.S.B.A., iii, p. 44. But, although it might never succeed in supplanting in common use the name of *Kiburbur*, whose persistence I have sought to explain before, it is evident that it is indeed the true pendant of *mât Eme-ku*. It has been proposed to translate the two denominations by "land of the language of the masters or chiefs" = Sumer, and by "land of the language of the servants or slaves" = Akkad. That translation would be yet much more favourable to the opinion of M. Oppert, who sees in the Sumerians and Akkadians peoples of distinct race, than to that of his opponents. But it would then be necessary to admit that the two names in question should go back also to the time of the Sumerian domination; otherwise, it would not have been worth the trouble, for the Semites, to change the primitive appellations. Besides, the translations of  *rubû*, by 'master, chief,' and of   *sukallu*, by 'servant, slave,' are not certain. One Assyriologist even, Prof. Paul Haupt, who had at first admitted them, has since shewn himself rather disposed to abandon them. He has written in the *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, ii., p. 269: " wird ja allerdings V, R. 13, 44 a, durch *rubû* erklärt, aber dies bedeutet doch hehr und nicht Herr;" and a little farther on:

“𒍪𒍪𒍪< heisst nicht *Sklave*, sondern *Bote*.” Perhaps I have some better interpretations to propose. As I hope to show further on that *Meluh̄ha* has never had anything in common with Akkad, nor *Māgan* anything in common with Šumer, there is therefore no more reason to write *māt Emeluḡga*, as Dr. Delitzsch would have it, than to read *māt Emelaḡga*, as Mr. Pinches has proposed. In my opinion, this last scholar is correct. But, instead of translating with him ‘the land of the pure tongue,’ since the primitive sense of *laḡ* was ‘brilliant, clear,’ I translate it: ‘the land of the clear, comprehensible language.’¹ Here indeed is a name which the Akkadian Semites, having become masters of Babylonia, could give to their country. As to the name of *māt Eme-ku*, it appears to me that it might be explained thus: ‘the land of the language of oracles,’ or ‘the land of the language of incantations, of exorcisms,’ that is to say, the land of the sacred language. The Sumerian was, in fact, just that to the Semites of Babylonia and Assyria. I admit that my explanation rests entirely upon the following hypothesis, which I submit for the appreciation of Assyriologists. We are quite aware that 𒍪 exchanges in Assyrian with the ideogram 𒌷𒍪𒍪𒍪 in the sense of *tukultu*, ‘protection.’ It concerns us to admit that 𒍪 had still the other meanings of 𒌷𒍪𒍪𒍪, namely: *kašāpu*, ‘incantare,’ Heb. קִשָּׁף, — *ittu*, plural *idāti*, ‘augur, oracle, formula of exorcism,’² Heb. הִיָּץ, — *barū*, ‘to have a prophetic vision.’ Perhaps a beginning of proof might be found in behalf of that community of signification in

the fact that 𒍪 = *tēmu* = *šipru* (V. 38, c, 35; ii, 48, d, 17); for oracles and dreams are the messages and communications which come to us from the gods. I add that 𒍪𒍪 𒍪 = *kalū* (*eme sal*), ii, 21, b, 39, could be but a dialectal spelling for *amelu* 𒍪𒍪 𒌷𒍪𒍪𒍪, which we know from the Assyrian Dictionary of Prof. Delitzsch, verbo *abaraku*. Since *kalū* signifies ‘priest’ (Zimmern), the translation ‘man of oracles,’ would agree very well with its Sumerian equivalent 𒍪𒍪 𒍪. Moreover, if 𒌷𒍪𒍪𒍪 has indeed the reading *še*, (Delitzsch, *Heb. & Assyri.*, p. 26), we could compare with it the reading *šu* of the sign 𒍪.

It remains for me to speak of the names of *Māgan* and *Meluh̄ha* in which many Assyriologists would see two other appellations of Sumer and Akkad. Not indeed that they deny that these names could be applied still to different countries; but they admit that *Māgan* signifies sometimes Egypt, sometimes Sumer, — that *Meluh̄ha* designates sometimes Ethiopia, sometimes Akkad. Already, at the first glance, such a duality of sense appears very strange. Strong proofs would be needed to render it admissible, and I hope to show how insufficient are those which have been furnished. These are they, as they have been presented first by Prof. Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, p. 282—299, and, after him, by Prof. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 129, ff.³

1. The very name of *Māgan* decomposes into *mā*, ‘vessel,’ and *gan*, ‘river.’ The country of *Māgan* signifies, therefore, ‘land

1) I do not believe that the writing 𒍪𒍪𒍪<, in place of 𒍪, could make a difficulty, above all if the relatively recent origin of the expression *māt Emelaḡga* is admitted. Cf., besides, 𒍪𒍪𒍪<, *misū*, ‘to purify.’

2) On this last meaning, see IV, 3, col. I, 30: *ittasū gamirtu markassu manna ul idī*, ‘the formula which cures head-ache, which fetters it,’ no one knows it.’—The meaning of ‘oracle, augur,’ is more frequent. I shall only cite IV, 63, b, 11: *Sin, bēl agē, pāris purussē, mukallim idāti*, ‘Sin, the lord of destinies, who pronounces decrees, who gives oracles.’

3) Consult, against the opinion of Profs. Schrader and Delitzsch, the objections already formulated by M. Halévy, *Mélanges de critique et d'histoire*, p. 152.

of navigable rivers,' a designation which might be applied as well to Lower Babylonia as to Lower Egypt. The translation of *gan* by 'river,' being today no longer tenable, Prof. Delitzsch contents himself, without proposing another, with insisting upon the etymology of the first part of *Má-gan*, which discovers, under this name, a country rich in vessels, largely open to navigation, such as Southern Babylonia, (*Paradies*, p. 139). But I do not believe that it would be wise to apply a similar system of interpretation to the proper names, as well as to the common Sumerian names. The proper names can have been simply borrowed names. The Latins spoke of *Assyria* and *Babylonia*; now, who would think of explaining these two words by the Latin language? Nothing forbids the idea that *Má-gan* represents a foreign denomination, e. g., the יבנה of Judges, x. 12, in the environs of Petra, in Arabic معان .

2. An ancient geographical list of towns and countries of which none, they say, takes us to any distance from the region watered by the Tigris and Euphrates, mentions the country of *Má-gan-ki* and *Meluḥḥa-ki* (IV, 38, No. 1). And what concurs to prove the purely Mesopotamian character of this list is that Phenicia, *mât Martu* or *mât Aḥarrî*, does not appear there. I do not believe, however, that one would seek to rank in the number of Mesopotamian countries Elam: *Nim-ki* (col. I, l. 19), *Anšim* (col. I, l. 16), nor even Dilmun: *Nituk-ki* (col. I, l. 21). Indeed it must be readily admitted that the list in question contains some foreign countries, since the subscription or the table of matters, as they like to call it, has judged it necessary to make mention of them, and distinguishes them even from the countries of Elam: *al mât Elamti*, *al mât nukurti* (col. 2, last lines). We have here to do with a list of the countries known by Babylonia, and trading with her at a time doubtless very ancient, and the inscriptions of Gudêa prove to us that *Má-gan* and *Meluḥḥa*, two adjacent countries of the Red Sea, had the right to be placed in

such a list. I am not sure, on the other hand, that Phenicia ought to appear there necessarily; for I do not know if our list does not preserve the remembrance of a time anterior to the installation of the Phenicians on the shores of the Mediterranean, or to the relations of the Babylonians with this people. I doubt whether, in the old inscriptions which relate to Šargon of Agadê and to Naram-Sin, *mât Martu-ki* really designates Phenicia. With Kudur-mabug, at least, it appears certain that *Martu-ki* exchanges with Enutbala (cf. I, 2, No. iii, l. 4; I, 5, No. xvi, l. 10; Lenormant, *Textes Cuneiformes* No. 70). The geographical application of the name of *Martu-ki* could be easily modified in the course of time, since it signifies originally nothing but "land of the West."

3. In a lexicographical tablet (II, 46), mention is made of ships of Šuripak, of Aššur, of Ur, of Akkad, of Dilmun, of Makkan and of Meluḥḥa (b, l. I-7);—of copper plates from Makkan, Meluḥḥa, Ur and Akkad, (c, 48-51);—of thrones or seats from Makkan and Meluḥḥa (a, l. 78-79). Here, there is no doubt that *Má-gan* (=Makkan) and *Meluḥḥa* appear in the midst of countries all merely Mesopotamian. But if *Má-gan* and *Meluḥḥa* signify Sumer and Akkad, why is double mention made of the ships and plates of Akkad, of the ships and plates of Sumer, first under the denomination of ships and plates of Akkad and Ur, (which evidently represents Šumer), and second, under the denomination of ships and plates of *Má-gan* and *Meluḥḥa*? Does anyone assert that our tablet is purely lexicographical? In that case, no information as to geography should be sought for there. I do not believe, however, that there would be ground for taking up this last position. I think the lexicographer has been naturally led to enumerate, after their nationality or their principal building ports, the ships he had been accustomed to see in the waters of Babylonia. Those of countries

adjacent to the Red Sea ought consequently to figure in his enumeration; for doubtless from a very remote period there had already existed commercial relations between the shores of that sea and Mesopotamia. On the other hand, there could be no mention therefore of ships of Phœnicia. As to the *elippè* of the land of *Hatti* or Syria, which the dwellers on the banks of the Euphrates or Tigris could in fact see floating on the waters of those rivers, since Sennacherib used such to cross the Persian Gulf from the land of Bit-yakin to the land of Elam, (Taylor's Cylinder, Col. 4, l. 26), it is probable that they were only boats built on the high Euphrates, and which no one could think of mentioning beside larger ships, prepared for long voyages. Besides, our tablet, which gives in its first line the ships of Surippak, seems to preserve to us the remembrance of a time long before that of Sennacherib. And then it can be asked: What do we know of the relations of Babylonia and Syria at that very ancient time? Till now I have spoken only of the ships of *Mâgan* and *Meluhha*; but, if my reasoning be correct in regard to them, it is necessarily so also to the plates and the thrones of these countries, whatever may be the peculiarities which marked, in the eyes of the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, the foreign origin of these articles.

4. We find *Mâgan* and *Meluhha* again mentioned in a list of 47 mountains known to the Babylonians, with a description of their products (II, 51, No. 1). As this list names Amanus, Libanus, Atilur, and other mountains certainly situated beyond Mesopotamia, it is naturally here no longer upon ground: of neighbourhood that Prof. Delitzsch supports his identification of *Mâgan*=Sumer and of *Meluhha*=Akkad. He has recourse to this other argument. All the names in the list in question are those of mountains, while *Mâgan* and *Meluhha* are known only

as the names of places or countries.⁴ This argument is hardly satisfactory. Switzerland is certainly also a country; but that does not prevent us saying: the mountains of Switzerland. This objection could be made to Prof. Delitzsch, that there are no mountains in Babylonia. He has replied in advance by stating that *šad* signifies 'hillock' as well as 'mountain.' This reply evades the real question. Whether the list II, 51, No. 1. be purely geographical, as is Prof. Delitzsch's opinion, or at bottom a magical litany, as M. Halévy has maintained, its peculiarity and importance lie in the fact that it informs us of the principal products of each of the enumerated places. We thus understand that *Mâgan* was the country or the mountain of copper, *Meluhha*, the land or mountain of turquoises. What, therefore, would need to be proved, is not that *Mâgan* and *Meluhha* might be only hills, and consequently may be sought for in Babylonia, but that in Babylonia there were mines of copper and beds of turquoises.

5. Again, they would argue from IV, 13, No. 1, recto, l. 14, ff., where mention is made of the high land, that is to say, Elam, and of the country of *Mâgan*, in two successive verses of a hymn to Adar. What could Adar, a Babylonian god, have to do with Egypt? it has been asked. Evidently here *Mâgan* is the low land, Chaldea, in opposition to the high land. Unless, however, I should reply, we can translate thus the passage invoked: *Ištu mâti eliti linna*-[*sih*] *ištu šad makkani lublâ*-[*nissu*], *atta erâ danru kima maski tu ...*, 'Whether it be taken out of the land of Elam, or whether it be brought from the mountains of *Makkan*, it is thou who [makest flexible] like a skin the hard copper.'

6. The proximity of *Mâgan* and of *Apîrak* should be proved, they said, by the inscription of Naram-Sin, I, 3, No. vii. I have elsewhere⁵

4) *Paradies*, p. 102 & 105.

5) See the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, ii. Paris, 1887. And cf. Hommel, *Geschichte Assyriens und Babyloniens*, pp. 279 and 309,

- šu - ba - at bel ilāni Marduk
 Ê - ku - a pa - pa - ḥa bi - ê - lu - ti - šu
 ḥurāši na - am - ri ša - al - la - ri - iš aš - tak - ka - au
 Ê - zi - da ê - êš - ši - iš ê - pu - uš - ma
 20 i - na kaspi ḥurāši ni - si - iḫ - tim ab - nam
 ê - ra - a mis - ma - kan - na êrinu
 u - ša - ak - li - il ši - bi - ir - šu
 Ê - témên - an - ki zi - ku - ra - at Bábili
 ê - pu - uš u - ša - ak - li - il - ma
 25 i - na a - gur - ri za - mat ê - êl - li - tim
 u - ul - la - a ri - ê - ši - ša
 i - nu - mi - šu Ê - ur - VII - au - ki zi - ku - ra - at Bar - sip
 ša šar ma - aḥ - ri i - pu - šu - ma
 XLII ammatu u - za - ak - ki - ru - ma
 30 la u - ul - la - a ri - ê - ša - a - ša
 ul - tu û - um ri - ê - ku - tim in - na - mu - u - ma
 la šu - tē - šu - ru mu - ši - ê - mi - ê - ša

COLUMN II.

- zu - un - num u ra - a - du
 u - na - as - su - u li - bi - it - tu - ša
 a - gu - ur - ri ta - aḥ - lu - ub - ti - ša up - ta - aḥ - ti - ir - ma
 li - bi - it - ti ku - um - mi - ša iš - ša - pi - ik ti - la - ni - iš
 5 a - na ê bi - ši - ša bê - li ra - bi - u Marduk
 u - ša - at - ka - an - ni li - ib - ba
 a - ša - ar ša la - ni - ma la u - na - ak - ki - ir te - mē - êu - ša
 i - na arḥi ša - al - mu i - na ûmi ḫmagiru
 li - bi - it - ti ku - um - mi - ša u a - gur - ri ta - aḥ - lu - ub - ti - ša
 10 ap - ta - a - ti ê - ik - ši - ir - ma
 mi - ki - it - ta - ša u - uš - zi - iz - ma
 ši - ti - ir šu - mi - ia
 i - na ki - tir - ri ap - ta - a - ti - ša aš - ku - un
 a - na ê - bi - ši - ša
 15 u u - ul - lu - u ri - ê - ši - ša ga - ta aš - ku - un
 Na - bi - um ablu ki - i - num su - uk - ka - al - lam ši - i - ri
 ši - it - lu - tu na - ra - am Marduk
 ê - ip - šê - tu - u - a a - na da - mi - iḫ - tim ḥa - di - iš
 na - ap - li - is - ma
 20 ba - la - tam dara - a sê - bi - ê li - it - tu - tim
 ku - un kussi la - ba - ri pa - li - ê - su - um - ku - tu na - ki - ri
 ka - ša - dam mâta ai - bi a - na ši - ri - ri - iḫ - tim šu - ur - ka - am
 i - na li - un - ka ki - i - uu - mu - ki - in pu - lu - uk
 ša - mi - ê u - ir - ši - tim
 25 i - bi a - ra - ku û - mi - ia šu - du - ur li - it - tu - u - tim
 ma - ḥa - ar Marduk šar ša - mi - ê u - ir - ši - tim
 a - bi a - li - di - ka ê - ip - šê - tu - u - a šu - um - gi - ri
 ki - bi - du - um - ku - u - a
 Na - bi - um - ku - du - ur - ri - u - šu - ur

30 lû šarru za - ni - na - an
li - iš - ša - ki in i - na pi - i . ka

TRANSLATION.

- Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon,
the faithful shepherd, the supporter of the decision of the heart of Merodach,
the exalted priest, the beloved of Nebo,
the understanding, the wise [one], who, for the heroic deeds of the great gods,
5 has attentive ears,
the ruler, who does not grow weary, the finisher of Esaggil and Ezida,
the first-born son of Nabopolassar,
king of Babylon [am] I.
10 As Merodach, the great lord,
faithfully created me and
sent me to make its restoration,
Nebo, the protector of the host of heaven and earth,
a righteous sceptre caused my hand to grasp,
15 Esaggil, the palace of heaven and earth,
the dwelling-place of the lord of the Gods Merodach,
Ekua, the sanctuary of his lordship,
with glittering gold like a wall I erected,
Ezida anew I made and
20 with silver, gold, precious stones I built ;
with copper, *mis* wood from *Makan*, cedar,
I finished its building.
Ê-témên - an - ki, the tower of Babylon
I made, finished and
25 with a covering of glittering bright stones (?)
I erected its top,
At this time Ê - ur - VII - an - ki, the tower of Borsippa,
which the previous king built had
made 42 ells high, but
30 did not erect its top,
from days of old had decayed and
the drains for its water had not been kept up,

COLUMN II.

- rain and storm
had torn away its bricks.
The covering of its roof was torn away and
the bricks of the building itself heaped up like a hill.
5 To build it the great lord, Merodach,
caused my heart to drive me.
The place I did not change and I did not alter its foundation.
In a month of peace, on a favourable day,
the bricks of the main-building and the covering of the ceiling
10 of the stories I joined firmly together and
its decay I caused to be restored and
the inscription of my name

- in the corners of the stories I placed.
To build it
- 15 and erect its top my hand I stretched out.
Nebo, the faithful son, the exalted messenger,
the victorious (one), the beloved of Merodach
upon my deeds in mercy joyfully
look and
- 20 an everlasting life, old age, offspring,
a firm throne, a long reign, the overthrow of my enemies,
the conquest of the land of my enemies as a present grant.
on thy everlasting tablet, who holdest the reins(?)
of heaven and earth
- 25 proclaim the length of my days, command offspring to me.
Before Merodach, king of heaven and earth,
the father, thy begetter my deeds cause to bless,
command mercy to me!
Nebuchadnezzar
- 30 is truly the king, the restorer,
may he be established by thy mouth (=command)!

NOTES.

Col. I., l. 2, *i-tu-ut*. I am unable to explain this word; my translation, is, therefore, only what the connection seems to me to demand. The same expression occurs l. 52, l. 2.

L. 3, *issakku*. W.A.I.I., pl. 53, l. 5., this word is written ideographically *pa-lê-si*. For other passages, as well as some remarks, cf. Flemming Diss. p. 24.

L. 4, *al-ka-ku-a-ut*. The root is קלך , the form Piel. Cf. the note on this word in my work *Die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals*, Heft II., p. 5 ff.

L. 6, *a-ni-ha* is from נח "to become weary." *La a-ni-ha* is "the one who does not become weary."—The root זן meant originally "to make full" then "to make good, finish." Cf. Latrille Z K II, 259. Pinches calls my attention to W.A.I.V. pl. 40, l. 6 ef., where this word stands immediately following *ritum* "pasture," and *maskitum* "drink." According to this, it might have meant "to give food."

L. 8, *asaridu*. Cf. the remarks of Latrille Z K II, 347 ff.

L. 10, *i-a-um*. This is undoubtedly the correct reading as the varian Senkereb

I. 11 proves. We read here *i-na-(var. nu)-um-mi-su*. For this word cf. Schrader, K.A.T., p. 2, l. 1., p. 17. l. 5. and Lotz, Tiglathpileser, p. 183. Flemming's attempt (Diss. p. 30) to read *ninim* and to connect the word with Heb. נִינִם fails completely. All the passages that he cites are clearly to be explained thus.

L. 21, *êrâ* "copper," but not "bronze" cf. Jensen Z A I. p. 254 ff.—*nis-ma-kan-ua*. "Miswood from the country of Makan." Cf. Heft. II. p. 24 of my *Assurbanipal*.

L. 23, note the variant *bit* for *ê* cf. pl. 48, No. 9, l. 7.

L. 25, *agurri*. This word has different meanings in the Assyrian inscriptions. Esarhaddon col. V, l. 18, we read *askurpe a-gur-ri*, which certainly means "thresholds of flagstones." K. 1794 col. x. l. 22 (cf. my *Assurbanipal Heft II.* p. 19) it means "burned bricks," while in the large Nebuchadnezzar inscription, it means "covering." Probably all of these meanings belong to the Heb. קנר . Mr. Pinches, however, compares Arabic أجرود or إجار — *za-mut*. Cf. *Assurbanipal Heft II.* p. 24. Delitzsch A.L., p. 36, No. 315, reads

uknû "Krystall." The Akkadian form is *za-gin*, which means "white stone." Cf. W. A. I. IV, pl. 18, l. 42, 45, where the reading *za-gin-na* occurs.

L. 26, *u-ul-la-a*. This word is II., I., from the root אלה. This form means to make high.

L. 27, *E-ur-VII-an-ki*. The character *ur* is explained by *ha-ma-mu* S^b 271. The name then means "house of the seven spheres of heaven (and) earth."

32 *mu-ši-ê* means "outlet," "passage," and comes from the root רצו.

Col. II, l. 1, *ra-a-du* "storm." Cf. Arab. رعد.

L. 3, *up-lu-at-ti-ir-ma* II, 2 from פטר.

L. 4, *ku-um-mi-sa*. This word means literally "place, stead, room." Here we must translate "its own building." The root is כום. Cf. W.A.I.V. pl. 8, l. 46.—*ti-la-ni-îš* is an adverb from *tilu* "hill."

L. 6, *u-sa-at-ku-un-ni*. This is from the same root as the word *at-ki* W.A.I.V., 10, 74. Cf. my *Asurbanipal Heft* I, p. 105, and the "Glossar." K 2675 *Heft* II, p. 12, l. 9. The root is תבה. The translation here is "my heart drove me"; the form is III, I, with the suffix of the first person.

L. 7, *ê-ni-ma*. This word is synonymous with the following *unakkir*. The root is אנח. The words *in-nin-nu-u*, W. A.I.V., 10, 9, and *mat-nin-nu-u*, 7, 95, are also to be deprived from this root. Haupt,

Hebraica, Oct. 1885, pp. 4-6, attempts to derive the last named word from חון, but this is utterly impossible. Cf. my remarks *Asurb. Heft* I. p. 102.

L. 10, *ap-la-a-ti*. This words quite certainly means "stories." I think the root is פתח.

L. 11, *ki-tir-ri*. This is quite clearly the reading of the original; the *li* in W.A.I. is wrong. I think that this word means "corner." Perhaps Arab. كتر may be compared. This translation seems to me to suit the connection.

L. 21, *ku-un* is inf. II., 1, from כון.

L. 22, *su-ur-ka-am*, Impr. from שרק. Cf. Bezold in the "Nachtrage" to my *Asurb.*, *Heft* II.

23 *ûûm*. These characters are to be read thus. Cf. W.A.I. II. 42, 22e, and the passages given by Strassmaier *Alphabet. Verz.* No. 4800., W.A.I. III. 2, 1. Cf. further Pinches PSBA, June, 1886.—*pu-lu-uk*. This word is doubtful both as to etymology and meaning. The same word occurs Tiglathpileser I, 39, written with *g* and Sb. 169, written with *k*. Cf. W.A. I. V., 65, col. II, 15, where this expression also occurs. I think the root is פלך.

L. 25, *i-bi*. That this last character is to be read *bi*, is proved by the variant $\text{𒀭}|\text{𒀭}$ for 𒀭 in l. 28. *Ibi* is imper. from *ubû*. Cf. pl. 52, l. 28.

l. 30, *za-ni-nu-an* is a substantive formed from the part in *anu*. S. ALDEN SMITH.

GLIMPSES OF BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN LIFE.

II.—A BABYLONIAN WEDDING.

TRANSCRIPTION.

1. Itti- d.p. Marduk-balaṣu, māri-šu ša d.p. Bēl-āḥē-iddin, mār d.p. Nūr-Sin,
2. i-na ḥu-ud lib-bi-šu, ʿšrit ma-na kaspi d.p.p. Ba-ni-tum-utēr-āḥi.
3. d.p. Šār- d.p. Ba-ni-tum-ṭabu, d.p. Ba-ni-tum-si-il-nū,
4. ū d.p.p. Bēltu-si-il-mu, irbit-ta d.p. a-me-lut-tum
5. u u-dī-e bitī, it-ti d.p. Āmat-d.p. Nanā, mār-ti-šu,
6. a-na nu-dun-nu-ni-e, a-na d.p.p. Marduk-šum-ib-ni.
7. māri-šu ša d.p. Bēl-u-sal-li-im, ābil d.p. Êp-eš-ilu:
8. id-di-in.


9. D.P. Mu-kin-nu: D.P. Ablā-a, mārī-šu ša D.P. Bêl-iddin, mâr D.P. Êp-eš-ilu;
 10. D.P.P. Marduk-šum-iddin, mārī-šu ša D.P. Kapti-ia, mâr D.P. Ga-ḫal;
 11. D.P. Itti-D.P. Marduk-balaṭu, mārī-šu ša D.P. Nabû-âḫê-bull-iṭ
 12. mâr D.P. Êp-eš-ili;
 13. D.P. Nabû-êdir-napšāti, mārī šu ša D.P. Nabû-âḫê-bull-iṭ
 14. mâr D.P. Êp-eš-ilu; D.P.P. Nergal-u-še-zib, mārī-šu ša D.P. Nabû-âḫê-bull-iṭ.
 15. mâr D.P. Êp-eš-ilu; u D.P.P. Šamaš-šum-u-kin, dup-šar,
 16. mārī šu ša D.P. Ukin Marduk, mâr D.P. Ši-gu-u-a.
 17. [Tin-tir D.S.] âraḫ samna, ûmu šalaššerit šuttu šelaltu,
 18. [D.P. Kam-bu-]zi-ia, šar Tin-tir D.S.,
 19. šar mâtāti.

TRANSLATION.

1. Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, son of Bêl-âḫê-iddin, son of Nûr-Sin,
 2. in the joy of his heart, 10 mana of silver, Banitum-utêr-âḫi
 3. Šâr-Banitum-ṭābu, Banitum-silmi
 4. and Bêltu-silmu, 4 slaves
 5. and the furniture of a house, with Âmat-Nanā his daughter,
 6. as a dowry, to Marduk-šum-ibni
 7. son of Bêl-usallim, son of Êpeš-ilu
 8. he has given.
 9. Witnesses: Âblā, son of Bêl-iddin, son of Êpeš-ilu;
 10. Marduk-šum-iddin, son of Kaptia, son of Gaḫal;
 11. Itti-Marduk-balaṭu, son of Nabû-âḫê-bullit,
 12. son of Êpeš-ilu;
 13. Nabû-êdirnap-šāti, son of Nabû-âḫê bullit,
 14. son of Êpeš-ilu; Nergal-ušezib, son of Nabû-âḫê-bullit,
 15. son of Êpeš-ilu; and Šamaš-šum-ukin, the scribe,
 16. son of Ukin-Marduk, son of Šigûa.
 17. [Babylon], Marcheswan, 13th day, 3rd year.
 18. [Camiy]ses, king of Babylon,
 19. king of countries.

FREE RENDERING OF THE OBERVERSE.

“Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, son of Bêl-âḫê-iddin, descendant of Nûr-Sin, in the joy of his heart, has given 10 mana of silver, and the female slaves Banitum-utêr-âḫi, Šâr-Banitum-ṭābu, Banitum-silmi, and Bêltu-silmu—(in all) 4 slaves, and the furniture of a house, with Âmat-Nanā his daughter, as a dowry, to Marduk-šum-ibni, son of Bêl-usallim, descendant of Êpeš-ilu.”

The document here translated seems not to be the original, but a copy, and although the characters are fairly clear and well formed, yet the scribe has apparently made two mistakes in copying it. The first is in the third line, where he has left out the determinative prefix  before the name *Banitum-silmi*. The other is in line six, where he has written

nudunnunē, instead of simply *nudunnē* “dowry” (oblique case after the preposition *ana*) the Nom. being *nudunnū*.

It will be noted that four out of the six witnesses (one of whom, Šamaš-šum-ukin—the namesake of the brother of Aššur-bani-apli, called Saosduchinos by the Greeks—is the scribe who drew up the document) are of

the bridegroom's family, whose ancestor was really independent witness for Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, the father of the bride.'

THEO. G. PINCHES.

1) A translation of this inscription has already been given by me in the Guide to the Nimroud Central Saloon, p. 103-104, but the text and transcription are here published for the first time.

PEHLEVI NOTES.—II. A PARALLEL TO THE PEHLEVI JARGON.

I SHALL not be so presumptuous as to express an opinion either way upon Professor de Harlez's elaborate argument against the 'ideogrammatic' nature of the Pahlavi *huzvaresh*, and in favour of its being a real language, or rather jargon. My object in this Note is merely to point out a curious parallel, which may not be without value, drawn from an interesting article in a former volume of the *Muséon*, which Dr. de Harlez edits.

First of all, let me remind the reader that Prof. de Harlez, in order to give an idea of the character of the queer mixed Persian and Semitic farrago called Pehlevi, presents the first line of the *Aeneid* in a correspondingly formed farrago of Latin and Greek, (B. & O. RECORD, No. 4, p. 50), in which the Greek words are supposed to represent the *huzvaresh*, or Semitic elements I take the liberty of reprinting the line, with the difference that, for clearness' sake, I introduce the Greek alphabetic characters for Greek forms as follows:—

Arma ἀνδρῶνque ἀείδο Troja ὁ πρῶτος
ἀπ' oris.

Now, odd as this jargon looks, it is no stranger than an ordinary line of Pehlevi. It will be observed that not only are these Greek terms mixed with Latin ones, but also that the former have Latin grammatical terminations affixed, (unque, -o, -tus).

It may be asked, could such a jargon ever exist? It is somewhat startling to find that one actually *does* exist and flourish at the present day. I refer to the groups of dialects of Greek Southern Italy, the ancient Magna Græcia. In the *Muséon* for 1884, Professor Vito Palumbo, who was the first to explore the rich mines of folk-lore of the Greek col-

ony of the Terra d'Otranto, gave a curiously interesting specimen of this Greco-Salentine dialect, in the form of a folk-legend "The Three Counsels of King Solomon." A few extracts will at once render it evident that we have here a Greco-Italian "Pehlevi." I will once more introduce the Greek letters for the Greek forms, in order to bring out the correspondence with Prof. de Harlez's imaginary verse:—

Praduna, domnu ἐνα consiglio προππι νὰ' ππο.
Rispondeuse ὁ praduna ce ἴπε: ἀκατον du-
can, esū μὸδ ἔνω.

[Master, give me a counsel before I go away. Answered the master and said: A hundred ducats, this thou shalt give me].

Here we have, mixed up with dialectical Italian, the Greek words ἐνα (= ἐνα), προππι (= πρὸ + ἐπι) νὰ, ce (= καὶ), ἴπε (= εἶπε), ἀκατον (= ἄκατον), ὁ (= ὁ), μὸδ. Not only so, but we have Greek words with Italian grammatical inflexions ('ππο, apparently for ἄπ-εμ, with Italian -o, ἔνω, from ἐλέωμι? with suffix νι), and even an Italian word with Greek suffix (rispondev -σε, with ending of 3 pers. aorist?) Once more: "isa kali e kosigli ἡ pradun-mū," which may be rendered thus: ἦσαν καλοὶ οἱ consigli τοῦ padrone μὸδ.

I need not quote further. The above specimens will be enough to shew that something very like the jargon of Dr. de Harlez's fabricated line of Virgil, and consequently analogous to Pehlevi, really exists, and is still in use as a folk-speech in Italy. The only difference is that we should here probably consider the foundation Greek, the Italian to represent the intrusive element,—the *huzvaresh* in fact.

L. C. CASARTELLI.






REMARKS ON SOME EUPHRATEAN ASTRONOMICAL NAMES IN THE
LEXICON OF HËSYCHIOS.

I.

It would be a work worthy of modern scholarship to make a scientific analysis of the great *Λεξικόν* of the grammarian Hësychios, cir. A. D. 370; to distinguish between Aryan and Non-Aryan words and names; to class the divinity-epithets and thoroughly investigate the dialectology; and, assisted by the light of modern discovery, to grapple successfully with the frequent obscurities and corruptions of the text. The *Lexicon* contains many Oriental, and some Euphratean words or epithets; and in the days when Assyriology was younger, and when cuneiform decipherment was doubted or ridiculed, it was cheering to occasionally find investigation or conjecture supported by the weighty testimony of a Hësychios or a Damaskios.¹ I propose in this Paper to illustrate the value and importance of Hësychios, by noticing the Euphratean terms which he has preserved for Heaven, Moon, Sun, *Mercury*, *Venus*, *Jupiter*, and *Mars*.

II





Σάνη. ὁ κόσμος Βαβυλώνιος. Corr. *Σάνη* = (As.) *Suwe, suwe,*² *suwe,* "the heavens," Heb. *shamayim*. The heaven in kosmic order, as distinguished from the state of *tolú* and *bolú*, which latter is personified in the Phœnician *Baaw*,³ the goddess Bahu of the Inscriptions.⁴



Ἰδύς. ἡ σεληνη παρά Χαλδαίους. = (Ak.) *Idu*⁵ the full moon, expressed in archaic Babylonian by the ideograph  = the circle, solar or lunar, +  (10+10+10), i. e. the 30 days of the month. As might be expected, it is the protagonistic name which Hësychios has preserved, and the word is connected with an archaic and widely-spread Turanian moon-name. "The primitive Chaldaean title [of the moon is] represented by a cuneiform sign which is phonetically ΛΙ, as in modern Turkish.⁶ The name of "la déesse lunaire Λι, épouse de Samas,"⁷ appears written thus,   , *Ilu* ΛΑ ("goddess ΛΑ"). So Strahlenberg in his very interesting "Polyglot-Table of the dialects of 32 Tartarian Nations," gives as moon-

1) Vide Damaskios, Περὶ τῶν πρώτων ἀρχῶν, cxxv. Σελή (often mistranslated "in silence") = Ak. *Ziku*, τὴν μίαν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχήν, "the primitive substance of the universe" (Prof. Sa^yce) : *Τάυθε* = As. *Tavtu*, *Tamtu*, *Tiámat*, Heb. *Tehóm*, the primal Chaotic-deep, personified as a monster, drakontic or serpentine, and combining the ideas of watery-chaos, night, storm-darkness, and moral evil. *Λπισών* = As. *Aprú*, Ak. *Zuab* ("Deep-wisdom." Does *zuab-apsú* reappear in the Gk, magical word *ζάψ*, said to mean "the sea," *apsu* being "the deep?" Vide Clem. Alex. *Stromata*, v. 8). *Μωῦμίς* = Mami ("the Waters"). *Λάχη* (not *Δάχη*) = Lakhmu, the Clear-sky. *Λάχος* (not *Δάχος*) = Lakhmu. *Κισσαρή* = Kisar, the Lower-expanse. *Ἄσσωπος* = Asar, probably the Upper-expanse. *Ἄνος* = Ak. *Ana*, As. *Anu*, "Heaven." *Ἰλλίως* (corr. *Ἰλλίως*) = Elin, Elum (=Bel). *Ἄος* = Éa, the Ὠήs of Helladios, also called Ὠάννης = Ak. *Éa-khan* (Lenormant) "Éa-the-Fish."

2) Vide *inj.* in voc. *Σάες*.

3) *Ὅτως ονομάζουσι νόκτα Φοίνικες* (Sanchou. i. 3).

4)   =  .

5) *I-du* might mean "the Glorious-goer (cf. the Aryan *Ió*, "the Goer"), *Id-u* = "the Measuring-lord," *Ai-du* = "the Father-the-goer." The ideograph  , *du*, originally two legs (=the Goers), also = *gub* (*kur*) "to wax" (as the moon), and reminds us of *Kur*-ra, the Etruscan (non-Aryan) full-moon goddess.

6) Sir H. C. Rawlinson, in Canon Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 123.

7) Lenormant, *Étude sur quelques parties des Syllabaires Cunéiformes.*, 16.

tion of Phrixos sacrificing the Ram to some foreign divinity.¹⁹ The *Χρυσόμαλλον κριόν, ἐφ' οὗ* Phrixos and his sister *φερόμενοι εἰς οὐρανὸν γῆν ὑπερέβησαν καὶ θάλασσαν*,²⁰ is said to have been the gift of Hermès. Now it is quite true that in Aryan mythology Hermès is the Wind-god, and has special power over flocks and herds, both aerial and terrestrial;²¹ but, as Mr Ruskin, a true seer, points out, he “becomes the spirit of the movement of the sky or firmament... the great motion of the heavens and stars rhemselves. In his highest power he corresponds to the ‘primo mobile’ of the later Italian philosophy.”²² And, certain it is, that Hermès is *Κρισφόρος*²³ not only as cattle-guardian and lord, but also in another and a remarkable sense, The Euphratean astronomical *Hermès, i.e.,* the planet *Nabu-Mercury*, is often called *Sulpa-uddu*, (“the Messenger of the Rising-sun”); and, as such, bears on and gives to all the Golden (solar) Ram.

On arriving at the Oriental home of Aïêtês, Phrixos (= the Unsunlit-air) married his daughter Chalkiopê (=the full ‘Copper’-moon), a reduplication of Aïêtês himself; and Apollodôros, evidently following some very curious and archaic account, the real meaning of which had been lost for ages, gives their issue as Argos (=White-light=Moon-light), Melas (=Darkness). Phrontis (‘Thought,’ suitable

descendant of Aïêtês Olôôphrôn, and his spouse Idyia, “the Knowing”), and *Κυτίσσωρος* or *Κυτίσσωρος*,²⁵ an utterly unexplained personage whose name I do not hesitate to connect with the Euphratean *‘Assowros* (vide *sup.* note 1).²⁶

With respect to the meaning of the title *Χαλδαῖοι*, it may be noted that it has passed through at least three distinct historical phases, *i. e.* (1). The Kaldai appear in the 9th cent. B. C. as a non-Semitic tribe living on the shore of what was afterwards known as the “Persian Gulf.” (2). The Kaldai having subsequently conquered Babylonia, the Greeks applied their name to it; and “the reputation of the Babylonians for magic and astrology caused the name Khaldaean to become synonymous with ‘priest’ and ‘soothsayer.’²⁷ (3). Even as late as the Parthian Empire the Chaldaeans are recognised as a distinct nationality, and by Latin writers of the time of the Roman Empire, the term ‘Chaldaei’ is applied in a general way to professors of the form of occultism connected with astronomico-astrology.²⁸

The term ‘Babylonians’ had sometimes an exceedingly wide signification; thus we find in Hésyehios:—*Βαβυλώνιοι, οἱ βύρβαροι παρὰ τοῖς Ἀπτικοῖς.*²⁹

III.

Σαῶς, ἡλιος, Βαβυλώνιοι, =(As.) Savas =(Svas. Samas). Cf. the Gk. form of the

19) Paus. I. xxiv. 2.

20) Apollodôros, I. ix. 1.

21) Vide Hom. Hymn, *Eis Ἐρμῆν*, Roscher, *Hermes der Windgott*; Cox, *Mythol. of the Aryan Nations*, 446. *et seq.*; and the charming and delicate remarks of Ruskin, *Queen of the Air*, i. 27.

22) *Ibid.* i. 128.

23) Vide Paus. IX. xxii. 1. The god-fearing Pausanias will not relate what was said *ἐν τελετῇ Μητρὸς* [=the great Babylonio-Hittite goddess-mother of Asia Minor] about Hermès and the Ram (*Ibid.* II. iii. 4). In art HermèsKriophoros naturally supplied a prototype for representations of the Good Shepherd.

24) *Ναβῶ* (LXX) is henotheistically styled “the Lord of lords,” “the Supreme Chief” “the Lord of the Constellations,” “the Guardian over heaven and earth” (Vide Ruskin, *sup.*).

25) Also mentioned by the Schol. ad Appolon. Rhod. ii. 1123.

26) It may perhaps=*Kut-Asar* (=“the Divided-expanse,” or *Kisar + Asar*).

27) Sayce, in Herod. i. 181: *οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἰσχυροὶ τοῦτον τοῦ θεοῦ.*

28) Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 552; Tacitus, *Annales*, ii. 27, iii. 22. &c.

29) Cf. the *Babylonians* of Aristophanes.

king-name Saosdoukhinos, and the remarks of Mr Pinches on the Babylonian pronunciation of *m* as *w*.³⁰

The Babylonian cosmogony of Damaskios³¹ concludes, τοῦ δὲ Ἄου καὶ Δαύκης [Danké=Ak. Davkina, "Mistress - of - the earth"] [ἰὸν γενέσθαι τὸν Βῆλον, ὃν δημιουργὸν εἶναί φασιν.=Βῆλος—As. Bilu, ("the Lord"), and the divinity referred to is Bilu Maruduk ("the Brilliance-of-the-sun"), the Babylonian Sun-god and special patron of the city,³² the later Bel, Elum being, as noticed, the earlier Bel. Maruduk being in later times the protagonistic member of the Pantheon, was naturally identified by the Greeks with Zeus,³³ and hence subsequently with Ouranos.³⁴ So we find in Hésychios, Βῆλος. οὐρανός. καὶ Ζεὺς. Βῆλ (LXX, in Is. xlvi 1)=the Phœnician) Baal, whose spouse is Baalath,=As- Belat ('Lady') Gk. Beltis. So Hésychios defines Βῆλθης (=Baaltis) as ἡ Ἥρα ἢ Ἀφροδίτη. It was rather difficult for a Greek to decide which she most resembled; like Héra she was the chief female goddess, whilst her character resembled that of Aphrodîtê. So the Pseudo-Lucian, Περὶ τῆς Συρίας Θεοῦ, calls the great Babylonio-Hittite goddess Ἥρα.

IV.

Σεχῆς, τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἀστήρ. Βαβυλώνιοι.= (Ak.) Sakvisa. Perhaps the name may mean
 ☽||☿| ♃| ♁ "Lord (Head)-of-the-Sak - vi - sa four-quarters of the heaven."³⁵ It is clear that Head-heaven-4 the planets *Stilbôn Pyphîê*, *Phuethôn*, and *Thourios (Pyroëis)*, were respectively connected by the Greeks with Hermês,³⁶ Aphrodîtê, Zeus, and Arês, because these four divinities were considered

to correspond with Nabu, Istar, Maruduk, and Nergal in the Chaldean system; it is also very interesting to find that the Chaldean characteristics of the 7 planets have always remained the same from a vast antiquity, and are those of modern astrology. Thus Plutarch states:—Χαλδαῖοι ἐξ τῶν πλανητῶν, ὄντι θεοὺς γενεθλίους καλοῦσι, ἐὶο μὲν ἀγάθουργούς [i.e. Jupiter and Venus], ἐὶο δὲ κακοποιούς [i.e. Mars and Saturn], μέσους δὲ τοὺς τρεῖς [Sun, Moon, and Mercury] ἀποφάινουσι καὶ κοινοῦς.³⁷

Sakvisa is the Nabu ('Proclaimer') of the coming Sun; and as the planet *Mercury* has different morning and evening aspects, the latter receives a separate name and a distinct personality as the god Nusku, "holder of the golden sceptre." Prof. Sayce has noted that Nabu "the Morning-star is associated with the god of death",³⁸ Tu; and, similarly, the Evening-*Mercury* or golden-sceptre-holding Nusku, reappears in a familiar Homeric scene:—

Ἑρμῆς δὲ ψυχὰς, Κυλλήμιος ἐγκαλείτο ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων ἔχε δὲ ῥάβδον μετὰ χερσὶ καλὴν χρυσεῖν, ἣ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄρματα θέλγει ὡν ἔθελαι τοὺς ἐ' αὐτὴ καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει.³⁹ That is to say, Hermês the Evening-star lulls' and Hermês the Morning-star 'rouses.'⁴⁰ Here in the twilight gloom the Evening-star (not the soothing and good-omened Ἑσπερος ἀστήρ,=*Venus*) shows the bat-like souls of the Suitors "down the dark ways."

So in the Euphratean story of *The Seven Wicked Spirits*, the "attendant Nusku" is sent by Bel to "Hea in the ocean," just as Hermês is the messenger from Zeus to Kalypsô.

ROBT. BROWN, JUN.

[To be continued].

30) *Bab. & Or. Record*, Dec. 1886, p. 22.

31) Vide *sup.*, Note 1.

32) Thus the LXX in Jer. xxvii, 2, 3 : κατασχῆνθῃ, Βῆλος, παρέδόθη Μαιρωδάχ.

33) So Hêrodotos (i. 181) speaks of Δῖος Βῆλον ἱερὸν. So Bêrosos : Τὸν Βῆλον, ὃν Δία μεθερμηνεύουσι (*Chaldaïka*, i. 6).

34) The connection between the two being somewhat close. Thus Hêrodotos (i. 131) speaks of the Persians as τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες.

35) Vide *sup.*, note 24.

26) Cf., Platôn, *Timæios*.

37) *Peri Is. kai Os.* xlviiii.

38) *Trans. Soc. Bib. Archæol.*, iii. 168.

39) *Od.* xxiv. 1—4.

40) A familiar expression ; cf. *Ibid.* v. 47—8.

NOTES, NEWS AND QUERIES

ALTAÏC HIEROGLYPHS AND HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS, by C. R. Conder, Capt. R. E. (London, R. Bentley & Sons, 1887, XI, 247 pp.)—This much-announced work leaves the matter as it stood before its publication, and the Hittite inscriptions remain undeciphered. The whole fabric displays a lack of the special erudition which its object required, and inaccuracies abound all through. However, we remark with pleasure that it contains many ingenious suggestions, some of which may afterwards turn to be happy hits when they are proved. Why the amiable author has used the expression Altaïc is by no means clear. On p. 117, quotations are given from my article on *The Kushites* in this *Record*, but their purpose has been mistaken; p. 143, my discovery in 1880 of the derivation of the Chinese writing from S. W. Asia is inaccurately mentioned and wrongly attributed to Dr. Hyde Clark. T. de L.

DOWER CONTRACTS.—In connection with the Dower Contract (see "A Babylonian Wedding," in the present number), I give here a new translation of a tablet of which a drawing (not a copy) has been already published by me in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* for 1880 (pp. 398-464), and again by Prof. Fried. Delitzsch (from my drawing) in the third edition of his *Lesestücke*, pp. 125-126.

(It may be noted that no mention of the source is made in the *Lesestücke*, and that the ends of the lines, necessarily omitted in my drawing because round the edge of the tablet (and therefore invisible) are also wanting in Prof. Delitzsch's reproduction.) The new translation, though uncertain in many points, I believe to be better than that published by me in 1880, and may be regarded as cancelling it.

"Zēria, son of Nabū-ibnī, said thus to Iddina-Marduk, son of Ikisa, descendant of Nūr-Sin: '7 mana of silver, 3 slaves, and the furniture of a house (to the) amount of 3 mana of silver, which is by promise, with Ina-E-sagila-râmat, my daughter, as dowry thus I give thee. The creditors, who were not pressing with Ikisa, thy father, shall be reckoned herewith.' Iddina-Marduk spoke thus to Zeria:

'Instead of her dowry, which I renounce, he has sealed Ubartum and her 3 children, Nanā-kisirat and her two children, and all his property that there is in town and country, and he has bequeathed (them), instead of the 7 mana of silver, the dowry of Ina-E-sagila-râmat, his daughter, unto Ina-E-sagila-râmat, his wife' (probably "unto Ina-E-sagila-râmat, my wife"). Here follow the names of the witnesses, and the date, "13th day of Ab, 34th year of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon." The wording of the text is not by any means clear. T.G.P.

In the June number of *Harper's Magazine* is a most interesting article by Madame Dieulafoy, who, with her husband, M. Marcel Dieulafoy, has been exploring the ruined palaces of the ancient rulers of Persia, upon the discoveries made there. We would call special attention to this valuable article. There are several good pictures of modern Persian scenes, as well as reproductions of ancient Persian remains and early Babylonian cylinder seals. Madame Dieulafoy is right in supposing one of the last-named to have belonged to a Babylonian princess (the name reads—"Mamaniša, the daughter of the king"). Another bears the name *Terimanni*, who seems to call himself "servant of Durigalzu."

FORTHCOMING PAPERS.—A. Amiaud: "The countries of Māgan and Meluhha." Prof. S. Beal: "Fragments of a life of the Buddha" (*P'u yuo King*). W. St. C. Boscawen: "New Assyrian Tablets." Robert Brown, Jun.: "Remarks on some Euphratean Astronomical Names in the Lexicon of Hēsychios." J. S. Stuart Glennie, M.A.: "The Kushites and the white race founder of civilization." Dr. T. de Lacouperie: "Tattooing;—Babylonia and China, II. The shifted Cardinal Points." Dr. Julius Oppert: "A Juridic Cuneiform Text." Theo. G. Pinches: "A Babylonian Dower Contract; The Babylonians and Assyrians as maritime nations," (continued.) Dr. Mark Aurel Stein: "Iranian deities on Indo-Seythian coins." "An Inscription from the Heri Rûd Valley." Thos. Tyler: "On the Hittite Inscription of the Yuzgat Seal."

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[Abstract by S. A. S.]

LE MUSEON—REVUE INTERNATIONALE.

Etudes de Linguistique, d'Histoire et Philosophie, publiées par des Professeurs de différentes Universités. Established in 1882. Four or five numbers a year.

LOUVAIN: *Lejeux Frères*, Publishers.

London Director: Prof. Dr. T. de Lacouperie, 62, Chesilton Road, Fulham, S.W.

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 18. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶

The Editorial Committee is not responsible for the opinions or statements of the Contributors.

GLIMPSSES OF BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN LIFE.

III.—A BABYLONIAN WEDDING CEREMONY.

SINCE writing the translation and notes given in the last part of the *Record* (pp. 137—139), a fragment of a tablet recently cleaned has shown itself, on examination, to be part of a text referring to the wedding ceremony itself. As this text, notwithstanding its imperfect nature, is very interesting, I give it here as a continuation of the paper contributed last month.

The fragment in question is the bottom left-hand corner (seen from the obverse) of a large tablet which probably contained three columns of writing on each side. On the obverse only a few words are to be read, but the reverse has twenty lines, eight of them being complete. This portion of the text formed the beginning of the concluding column (probably the sixth). It is divided into three sections. The first apparently contains the conclud-

ing words of an address by the officiating priest, who apparently commands the bridal pair to repair and make restitution for any wrong they may have done to any one, and then utters the words which make the couple man and wife. The second section gives directions, apparently to the priest, as to the offerings and sacrifices to be made next day. The third gives an incantation or prayer, apparently pronounced by the priest, exorcising every evil thing which could possibly do them harm. This last named is couched in the usual strain of such compositions.

The size of the fragment is 3½ in. by 3½ in. The portion of the text which is preserved is in very good condition, but many of the words are exceedingly difficult to translate, and the present attempt must therefore be taken as provisional.

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE OBVERSE.

1.
2. rubû(?)
3. a-na
4. ki-a-am
5. ta-ka-ab-bi
6. rubû ina bal(?)
7. rubû ana pan ili id-di

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE REVERSE.

1. At-tu-nu mim-ma linuttu mim-ma la tâlu ša N. apil N.
 2. tašabbata-šu-ma tēmida-šū idin-ma zi-kar-ka-ma lū-āššati-ka
 3. idni-ma si-niš-ta-ki-ma an-nu-n lū-muti-ki
-
4. Ina še-rim ana pan d.p. Éa, d.p. Šamaš, d.p. Marduk sibū GI-GAB TAKA-AN

5. sibiṭ šA-NA SIM-LI TAŠAKK-an sibiṭ niḳe takkî
6. šēri imitti šēri ME-GAN šēri KA-BIL tu-taḥ-ḥa bi-riš takkî
7. šalmē an-nu-ti sibiṭ ina ištīn āmmat ūltu šī-ḥir tu-pat-ta-šu-nu-ti
8. tu-še-šab-šu-nu-ti kēmē kitû tal-me-šu-nu-ti
9. (âmelu) idlu u (siniš) ârdatu ina idē-šu-nu tu-še-šab
10. šīšigtu-šu-nu iš-tu a-ḥa-meš ta-ka-*
11. ki-is-pi ta-ka-si-ip-šu-nu- [ti]
12. âna šī-ḥir takân-ma ki-a-am taḳabbî

-
13. Šiptu : D.P. Ê-a D.P. Šamaš D.P. Marduk ilāni
 14. dâan AN-TA-MEŠ u KI-TA-MEŠ
 15. (âmelu) šalamtu balaṭu ka-sa-a gab(?)
 16. aš-šum mīm-ma limuttu âmelu
 17. ilu limuttu, rabišu [limuttu]
 18. lu-u rêšu limuttu
 19. lu-u šu
 20. lu

TRANSLATION OF THE OVERSE.

1.
2. the prince (?)
3. to
4. thus
5. thou shalt say
6. the prince in the gate
7. the prince before the god placed(?)

TRANSLATION OF THE REVERSE.

1. You whatever is evil, whatever is not good, of so-and-so, son of so-and-so.
 2. shall take away from him, and restore him. Give also thy manhood, and may she be thy wife,
 3. give also thy womanhood, and this man, may he be thy husband.
-
4. In the morning thou shalt fix 7 GI-GAB (canes) before Ea, Šamaš, and Merodach,
 5. thou shalt place 7 branches(?) of cypress, thou shalt sacrifice 7 victims,
 6. thou shalt cut the flesh of the right side, the flesh of the *me-kan*, the flesh of the *ka-bil*, thou shalt pour out a libation—
 7. these things thou shalt separate 7 cubits from the *si-ḥir*
 8. thou shalt set them down ; cloths, linen, thou shalt put around them
 9. Thou shalt set the man and the maid beside them,
 10. thou shalt take(?) from each their girdle(?)
 11. thou shalt make a rent in them,
 12. affix (them) to the *si-ḥir*, and thus speak:—
-
13. Incantation :—Êa, Šamaš, Merodach, the [great] gods
 14. judge of things above and below
 15. the dead man life, cover
 16. as for everything evil, the man
 17. the evil god, the evil incubus


- 18. whether the evil head
- 19. or the
- 20. or

REMARKS.

Reverse, l. 3. *šiništu*, accus. of *šiništu* "woman," often written *šinništu*. This word is generally transcribed *šinništu* (with *i*), but the form with *u* is certainly more correct.

L. 5. The characters transcribed *šim-li* are probably to be read *burāši*.

L. 7. *Sibit ina ʿštin ʾammāt*, "seven by the one cubit," is apparently = 7 cubits.

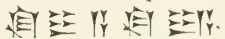
L. 10. For  = *šiššigtu*, see W.A.L., v., pl. 15, l. 24 *cd*. This was



an article of clothing evidently made of wool. I translate, doubtfully, "girdle."

L. 11. For *kispi*, see Assurbanipal, col. iv., l. 72, and vi., l. 76 (Cf. S. A. Smith's *Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals*, Heft I., pp. 34 & 50). I take the meaning to be "narrow passage," "watercourse" (more or less winding). The meaning of the root *kasāpu*, therefore, probably is "to cut, rend, make a cutting."

THEO. G. PINCHES.

NOTE ON A LEGAL TERM IN THE
BABYLONIAN CONTRACT TABLETS.

In the equally interesting as instructive article by Prof. E. and Dr V. Revillout, "Sworn Obligations in Egyptian and Babylonian Law," (*B. & O. R.*, No. 7, p. 101-104), the expression  *ki-i a-di-ya*, which often occurs in the contracts, is explained by "as for what relates to me" (word for word: "like towards me.") I do not think that such a rendering is grammatically allowable. The authors of the article have evidently taken the word *a-di* as the Preposition *adi* = Heb. עַד, עָרַי;

of "towards" = "for what relates to me" is as far as I can see, as unusual in Assyrian as in the kindred tongues. I do not believe that I shall be far wrong, if I take the word *adi* (pronounced *adī*) merely as the genitive of the substantive *adū*, "declaration," "contract"—we might even render it "oath" (Root , compare the Heb. , and my "Keilschriften und das Alte Testament" 2nd edition, p. 548), and translate the expression *kī adīya* by "according to my contract", or perhaps even "according to my oath."

BERNHARD SCHRADER.

REMARKS ON SOME EUPHRATEAN ASTRONOMICAL NAMES IN THE
LEXICON OF HÊSYCHIOS.

(Concluded from page 144.)

V.

Δελέφατ. ὁ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀστῆρ. ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων. = (Ak.) Dilbat ("the Ancient-proclaimer.") *Dilbat*, it is said, = (As.) *Nabu*.⁴¹

— — — Mr. G. Bertin, after remarking that "many values of the pre-Akkadian Semitic period must have been lost," gives among these 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 "the name of a star to be read *dil-mut*."⁴² But whether the name be Semitic in origin or not, it is clear that at one time it was read *Dil-bat*, and thus corresponds with the Ak. *Lubat* ("Old sheep"), a name for the planets.

Μολοβόβαρ. ὁ τοῦ Διὸς ἀστῆρ, παρὰ Χαλδαίων. In this case we shall expect Hêsy-chios, as usual, to have preserved a protagonistic name of the planet. The ordinary name of *Jupiter* is 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 , rendered *Lubat* (=the Planet) *Guttar*⁴³ and it is called, *par excellence*, the *lubat* or *bibbu*;⁴⁴ hence it is possible that *Μολοβόβα* might = *Mul Bibbu* ("the Star Bibbu") = *Jupiter*. *Guttar* (= "Bull-of-the-sm") "is explained by the Assyrian *pidnu sa some* ("furrow-of-heaven"), *i.e.* the ecliptic, to which *Jupiter* is near.⁴⁵ There is a close connexion in formation between the sign 𐎠𐎢𐎽 , *gut*, 'bull', and 𐎠𐎢𐎽 , *ul*, or *mul*, 'star'.⁴⁶ and it is likewise somewhat singular that 𐎠𐎢𐎽 , the remains of an original (solar) circle, has, amongst others the value *babar*, 'sunrise'. A group 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 would read *Mul - babar*, 'Star-of-the-sun', *i.e.*, sunlike star, but the

word *babar* is not used as a phonetic value.

We find, however, the forms *babbar*, *babbar*, modifications of *pappar*, (*i.e.* *par* doubled), with the meanings 'white', 'white surface for an inscription', 'silver' (= "white gold"), and hence 'shining', 'bright', so that *Μολοβόβαρ* = "the Bright-star" = "the planet" = *Zeus*.

VI.

Βελέβατος. ὁ πύρρος ἀστῆρ. Βαβυλώνιοι. This thoroughly ill-omened star was known as *Ulnakarru* ("The Hostile") *Ulsarru* ("The Enemy"), *Ul khamkham* ("The Sultry"), *Nu-mia* ("The Star-which-is-not"), referring to the fact that Mars recedes from the Earth until it is almost invisible.⁴⁷ *Manma* ("The King-of-the-land"-of the dead?), "the Star of Death", and *Nibatamu*, the meaning of which is very doubtful. The title "lord of the house of death" (= *Bel-e-bat*) given in *Trans. Soc. Bib. Archæol.*, iii. 171, was founded on an error in the published text of the original inscription; and Prof. Sayce has suggested to me that "*nibat* (or rather *ni-bat*)" may mean "he dies." The Underworld, *Ekur-bat* ("The Temple-of-the dead,") was ruled, according to Ak. ideas, by *Ninkigal* ("Lady-of-the-great-region," *i.e.*, *Scheöl*, *Hades*), also called *Ninge* ("Queen-of-the-Underworld"), and *Mulge*⁴⁸ ("King-of-the-Underworld"), and it is obvious that the latter personage, "lord of countries," the analogue of the Semitic *Bel*, must have been called "Lord-of-the-house-of-death" = *Βελέβατος*, which title would be subsequently

41) Vide *sup.* Sec. IV.

42) *The Pre-Akkadian Semites*, 15.

43) *Gut* = *gut*, and Prof. Sayce suggests that the Phœnician name of the planet *G ad* ("Good-fortune", cf. *Is.* lxx. 11) may be hence derived, with a Semitic meaning added.

44) Some bright-eyed animal.

45) Prof. Sayce (*Trans. Soc. Bib. Archæol.* iii. 170).

46) Vide the interesting remarks of the Rev. Wm. Houghton (*Ibid.* vi. 468-9).

47) Prof. Sayce.

48) *Mulge* and *Ninge* exactly correspond with the Etruscan

Mantus and *Mania*, king and queen of the Underworld, and I have called attention to

applied to *Mars* as the ill-omened star of the Underworld and of Death.

Every lunar and stellar position was, according to the Euphratean scheme of things, more or less portentous, the system of portents being founded on the triple basis of (1) actual natural incident, (2) anthropomorphic analogy, e.g. the Star which recedes and is not, is naturally the Star-of-death; or (3) synchronous occurrence, e.g., if "Goat and Kids oft behold men tossed about on the dark stormy sea,"⁴⁹ we read of "Isana Capre sidera,"⁵⁰ and thus on.

Nergal, the god of the planet *Mars*, which was known as *Nerig* in Median astronomy, is himself a chthonian divinity, the fighting Sun in the Underworld, "illuminator of the great city" (Hades), *ne* ('fire') + *urugal* ('great city'); and *urugal* and *arali* ('the tomb') are rendered by the As. *mitu* death, the Phœnician Muth; Θάνατον ἐν τοῦτον καὶ Πλοῦτωνα [=god of the Underworld] Φοῦνικες δνοοῦζονσι.⁵¹ Another Ak. combination read *urugal*, is equated with the As. *gabru* ('opposer'—in the sense of 'hero'), and the LXX give the god's name as Ἐργχλ.⁵²

In Ptolemy's star-list, which was little different from that of Hipparchos, we find Star No. 8 in "the asterism of the *Scorpion*" described as,— "The centre-one ["of the 3 bright-ones in the body"] also a reddish-yellow, called 'Αντάρις' (= 'equal' or 'opposite' "to *Arés*, the planet *Mars*), *Cor Scorpionis*; and in W.A.I. III. 53, No. 1, line 20, we find an observation connected with these two stars:—

! ∑∑Y→! ∑Y ∑<Y / ! ∑∑Y→!

Kakab Ni-bat-a-nu ama kakab
The Star *Death-in-Juven*⁵³ to the constellation

→∑|| ∑ ∑!

Gir-tab dikhu

of-the *Scorpion*⁵⁴ is-opposite.

The position here indicated will not be identical with "the Opposition" of later astrology, the ∑ aspect, when two planets are separated by 6 signs of the Zodiac, and which "is deemed most malignant and eminently unfortunate;" but at the same time I understand the combination as having a malignant aspect, and that the next statement *Ina ecali-rab-u-su ibas-si*, means, "In the palace a (new) master is placed," i.e. the king is dethroned or dies. Now modern astrology has, as noticed,⁵⁵ retained the Chaldean characteristics of the 7 planets; and it has also, by its division of the constellations of the Zodiac into Diurnal and Nocturnal Signs, retained in a marvellous manner the evidence of the character of the original concepts upon which the Twelve Signs are founded.⁵⁶ We shall not be surprised to find that the 6 Signs originally connected with Day and the Light-of-day, are called by astrologers (who are quite ignorant of the underlying reason) 'fortunate'; and that the 6 Signs originally connected with Night and Darkness, i.e., the so-called Nocturnal Signs, are regarded as 'unfortunate.' Amongst these is *Scorpio*; originally a type of Darkness,⁵⁷ and therefore considered as, on the whole, an ominous and fortunate Sign. In a curious Table in my possession of the properties and characteristics "of the Most Eminent Fixed

the fact that various Etruscan personage-names are easily and appropriately explained by the Akkadian language—e.g. *Manta-s*="King-of-darkness", *Mania* (*Ma-na*)="Land-of-eclipse" (Vide *Academy*, Nov. 27, 1886, p. 366).

49) Aratos, *Phainomena*, 157-9.

51) Saichou, i. 7.

53) So the name seems to be read (vide *sup.* in voc).

54) Formerly rendered "Star of the Double Sword" (vide R. B., *Eridanus*, 61).

55) *Sup.* Sec. iv. 56) Vide R. B., *The Law of Kosmic Order; Eridanus*, sec. iv

57) Vide R. B., *On the Origin of the Signs of the Zodiac*, sec. ix (*Archæologia*, xlvii.

50) Horace, *Carmina*, III. vii. 6.

52) iv *Kings*, xvii. 31.

Stars," *Antares* (*a Scorpionis*) is said to be connected with "Activity and Eminence;" and the aspect described in the Tablet seems to illustrate this, for whilst the *Star-of-death* facing *Scorpio*, bodes ill to the king, *Antares* shines brightly on his successor.

In Line 21 the statement about *Mars* and *Scorpio* is repeated, and the latter part of the Line is translated by Prof. Sayce:—

"The Zodiacal Sign⁵⁸ by its lower part

it seizes."

The Planet is here described as entering the Sign, the process being termed a seizing of the latter (*itsabbat*); and the passage explains the meaning of the Hindu term for planet *Graha* ('Seizer'). The idea may of course have arisen independently in India, or have been derived, like so much beside in Hindu astronomy and astrology, from the West.

ROBT. BROWN, JUN.

58) 𐎶𐎵𐎶, *za*, (Vide Bosanquet and Sayce, *The Babylonian Astronomy* (*Monthly Notices* of the Royal Astronomical Society, vol. xl. No. 3).

NEW HITTITE SEAL, FOUND NEAR TARSUS.

MR. GREVILLE I. CHESTER lately obtained from the neighbourhood of Tarsus a hematite seal of approximately cubical form, with the stone, however, so cut on one side as to serve the purpose of a handle. There are thus five engraved faces, including the base. Though not, in my opinion, so ancient as the Yuzgat seal—an opinion which Mr. Pinches shares—the new seal presents characteristics of very great interest. Four out of the five engraved faces have two figures (one seated and one standing) which may be supposed to represent either men or deities.¹ As, however, the general subject of the seal is evidently of a magical, or at least, mystical, character, it is not altogether easy to distinguish certainly between gods and men. But a hawk-headed figure, which is apparently pouring out a libation from a tall, narrow vase, may be supposed to be a deity. This figure has, moreover, a pig-tail, an appendage which is found with at least one other figure. Above one of the seated figures is what in all probability is a modification of the winged solar disk,

though in this case the sun has assumed a somewhat star-like appearance. In the hand of this seated figure is what appears to be a double three-forked thunderbolt, which is introduced possibly as an example of *tri-unity*, an idea which appears to have been very influential in the East in ancient times, and which, on one face of the seal, is represented by a trident of ordinary form, and on two other faces, one of them the base of the seal, by a trident-like object with a sort of root depending, and of which it is difficult to say whether it is an idealised plant or flame. Possibly it is the latter; as it is above a kind of altar, at the base of which the hawk-headed figure above mentioned is pouring out the libation. On either side of this trident-like object is a very curious symbol, which appears to denote life generally, or at least the primordial principle of human life. On another face of the seal this symbol is without the triangular cap (which, however, is above it) and it is supported apparently by a string which a standing



1. The fifth side has one seated figure holding apparently a bird with wings expanded and a hare or rabbit. The five seats, it is noteworthy, are in each case different.

figure holds in his hand. Here we see a rounded head with what look like projecting ears. The evolution of this curious symbol would seem to be this. The triangle was regarded as sacred, as representing the primordial principle of things. As such it is found in India, and, remarkably, it is to be seen also on a stele of Lilybaeum, which bears a Phœnician inscription, but here the triangle has a head and arms.²



In Cyprus this triangle seems to have lost its base, and accordingly it appears thus on the coinage.³ The Hittites probably modified the triangle somewhat differently, and added turned-up toes, or "Hittite boots" to accentuate the idea of life.⁴ This interesting seal is, it is understood, to be engraved immediately by the Royal Archaeological Institute, and the plate to be issued in their Journal, with some observations by Prof. Sayce.

THOMAS TYLER.

2. See the bas-relief figured in Perrot and Chipiez's *Histoire de l'Art* (vol. iii., p. 309) from the *Corp. inscr. sem.* According to P. & C., p. 308, analogous examples exist "sur les monnaies de certaines villes d'Asie," but I have been unable to find them.

3. Cf. H. de Luynes, *Numismatique et Inscriptions Cypriotes*, pl. v., fig 12. There is an example also in the Brit. Mus.

4. Mr. Pinches very appropriately suggests the analogy of the Egyptian *ankh*, or symbol of life. This analogy is remarkable, but if there is an actual connection, it must be referred back to a very remote antiquity. I may add that there are numerous triangles on the Yuzgat seal, which, though inserted to fill up vacant spaces, probably have a sacred or mystical significance.

A SEASON'S RESULTS IN EGYPT.

In giving an outline of a student's work in Egypt for a winter, two objects are in view; first, to show what can be easily done for scientific work in that country, and secondly to save others from going over the same ground, when so much else is waiting to be done.

My friend, Mr. Griffith, and myself went up to Minieh last December, direct by train, and that point is within a week of England, as is any part of Egypt below Siut. There hiring a small boat, in which we could be our own masters, we started on a leisurely cruise, walking a good part of the way in and out of the valleys and over all the good sites, up to Assuan. This way of seeing and exploring is to be much recommended for any one who wishes to make the most of their means and oppor-

tunities. Then, after dismissing the boat, we stayed for some weeks at Assuan and Thebes in tents, returning northward by the postal steamer, and afterwards separating to our more individual work. Such a trip showed how much remains to be done by any one who will undertake it. In many cases we found tombs which could never have been copied before, as they were covered over with Coptic or Arab plastering, and these occurred even in districts well known, where no one would think of going for discoveries. In short, one of the best grounds for novelties is in any place where everyone supposes that the remains have been all examined.

At Deir el Gibrawi, north of Siut, there are ranges of tombs, many of which are white-washed or plastered: those which we

could afford time to scrape down a little, showed long inscriptions of the XIIIth or XIIIth dynasty; a careful cleaning of these tombs would restore a whole group of inscriptions to light. At Rifa, some miles south of Siut, a range of grand tombs of the same age awaited a copyist; unable then to stop for them, Mr. Griffith returned later on, and has copied them completely, I understand. They have high facades entirely cut in the rock in the splendid bold style of the Middle Kingdom, rivalling and even exceeding that of Beni Hasan. Over one door is the double worship of Osiris and Anubis, seated back to back. A Coptic village inhabits the group of tombs, with all sorts of adaptations of mud brick built in.

To see anything, you need to wind up staircases, round corners, through courtyards, and to repel fanatical dogs who dispute every yard of progress. A most kindly guide we found in an old priest; and climbing a shaky mud tower, we found ourselves half-way up the facade of a tomb, the intercolumnar spaces of which were filled for ten feet or more from the ground by a brick wall; from that wall we descended a flight of steps into the church built in the hall, with inscriptions covering the walls, and half revealed by the fall of thin sheets of plaster. A striking feature of the XIIIth dynasty tombs in middle Egypt is the great figure of the deceased, far over life-size, on the wall: sometimes a row of statues of the deceased, his wife, and sister or mother, will be seated on a bench in the inner chamber, impressive from their simple largeness and gigantic solemnity.

At Shekh Gabr two or three tombs of the Vth or VIth dynasty are well worth visiting; being on the eastern cliff, a long tunnel has been cut for each in the rock, parallel to its face, so as to obtain a wall for the false doors, which need to be in the western side leading to the blessed Amenti

These tombs we completely copied. They are of Ka-khent and his wife Khent-kan-s; also of another Ka-khent, who appropriated some titles (*Suten-se, en kher-t-f, meri-f, semer-uakherpah enab neb-f*) which were disallowed afterward and erased. There is a very curious tomb round the corner of the cliff southward, with a sloping side passage and a flight of side steps cut in the rock; if a later adaptation, it is more elaborate than anything seen elsewhere. A strange sight, both here and at El Kab, is the style of tomb decoration by Italian artists; the extremely modern cheap wine-shop appearance is so wholly un-Egyptian, with its great ropey festoons, showers of red roses scattered on the wall, cupid-Horus, togated figures, and a table of offerings painted with a marble slab top, carved legs, and a green and white tumbler standing on it.

In the range of tombs at Hieraconpolis is one with a great quantity of fine coffers and gold work represented, which were presented to the temple there by the last of the Ramessides, all the objects bearing his name and titles. At El Kab, opposite, a tomb of the time of Sebakhotep II. has had its stone-cut inscription published more than once; but the painted walls had never been cleaned from the blackening by the bats. With water, brushes, and cloths, we went carefully over it and cleaned one of the most thickly peopled tombs I have seen. Not only all the owner's relatives, connexions, followers, and even friends are shown, but also the workmen who excavated the tomb and their families. Altogether over 70 names were copied with their titles. The general family character of the tombs at El Kab and around there is striking; usually the walls show a crowd of relatives, down to first cousin's grandchildren; but all, except the nearest, in the female line.

On nearing Silsileh, we began to hunt for the tablet of Mentuhotep IV., published

from the Harris papers in Trans. Bib. Arch. We not only found it, rather renowned in the neighbourhood as the "*saba rigaleh*," or "great (lion-like) man," but found some two hundred rock graffiti along the Nile banks and up the valley in which the main tablet is cut. The valley seems to have been a road avoiding the Silsileh rocks, and the crowd of inscriptions of the XIth, XIIth and XIIIth dynasties is astonishing. The names Antef and Mentuhotep abound, and farther up the valley we found a tablet of Sankhkara seated with a table of offerings before him, and two worshippers kneeling behind him. Sebekemsaf and Mentuhotep II. are other cartouches occurring there. We copied all that seemed copyable. The great rock in the El Kab valley with many graffiti of the VIth dynasty we did not copy, as it seems to have been done already. On all these rocks, beside the hieroglyphic and hieratic graffiti, are numerous drawings of animals and boats. These certainly were begun before the XVIIIth dynasty, as the priority of an inscription of Amenhotep I. is clear in one place; and from the appearances of the surfaces of these figures, and of adjacent early inscriptions, it seems not improbable that they are the oldest sculptures in Egypt. Gazelles, oxen, elephants and ostriches were noted among them.

At Gebel Silsileh we completely copied all the tombs, including some only to be reached by a boat and climbing. They are nearly all of the XVIIth dynasty. The great open quarries of Silsileh are entirely Graeco-Roman, as Greek inscriptions and marks may be seen 50 or 100 feet high up on the quarry face, close to the hill top; the earlier quarries are probably in the gigantic subterranean cuttings. Here, and elsewhere, the quarry marks have enabled us to identify the quarries of many Ptolemaic temples. Many of the Greek quarry marks are curious, especially representa-

tions of a ladder used for reaching the top of a shrine. We also copied the parts of a beautiful rock shrine of Amenhotep III., which had stood isolated in the quarry, with a hawk, in the round, placed on the top. The fragments do not seem to have been understood before.

At Assuan we worked through all the rock inscriptions, only omitting the large royal tablets which had been already copied. We found many which do not seem to have been observed before. Two of Mentuhotep II. along the Nile side by the cataracts, one of Usertesen I., and one of Ameniritis and Kashta, beside some others which are probably yet unpublished. The private lists of names of families and their friends are unparalleled, a dozen or twenty private names is often to be seen in one inscription, and when I shall have arranged and indexed them much light will be thrown on the dynastic range of various names. But at Elephantine the best field awaited me. In the village street, just over the ferry landing, a part which nearly every traveller passes, I saw on a projecting block of native granite a line with the cartouche of Rameri (VIth dynasty), and on clearing away the dust around it for a little, we unearthed tablets of Unas, with the king standing and the *hat* over his head, Noferkara (VIth dynasty) Rameri (above the others) Antefaa and Amenemhat I. The rock seems like a royal register of the place, and no other spot is so given over to cartouches; moreover most of these are earlier than any other rock inscriptions in the district. It is melancholy to see the thousands of early Muhammedan tombstones being gradually broken up and carried away from the cemetery. It is hopeless to preserve them on their individual graves; but if native soldiers were set to build an enclosure, and line the wall round with all the tablets, giving a character to the place by adding

a *weli*, some safety might be obtained for them without raising any fanaticism.

At Thebes my main work was in taking paper squeezes of all suitable heads of foreigners on the monuments, for the British Association Committee on Racial Types. For this purpose I took about 180 sheets with one or more heads on each, besides about 40 photographs from paintings or painted sculpture. The photographs in the tombs by magnesium light were so successful that I should employ it whenever good lighting cannot be obtained. Grain magnesium mixed when wanted with an equal weight of chlorate of potash, explodes with a dull thud and a flash which takes an instantaneous photograph before the smoke diffuses in the room. Forty grains of magnesium at a distance of eight feet from the subject are needed; the amount, of course, varying as the square of the distance. For other cases in tombs I generally used sunlight, reflected in by two or more successive reflectors of tin plate, and played about over the painting for two or three minutes. These are such an admirable means of lighting a tomb for inspection that no archaeologist should travel without them; plain sheets of tin turned up at the edges, and fitting one in the other is all that is needed, and a very little sunlight reflected far outdoes any candle lighting. I also took paper squeezes of all the plants in the botanical chamber of Tahutmes III. The stamped cones—fictitious bread offerings—were constantly brought to me, and I collected a quantity, which will add to our list of persons and titles probably when worked out. Ostraka also abounded, and I packed up many hundreds, mainly demotic: the Greek, so far as I have yet examined them, are mostly under Tiberius, receipts for money, and as late as Trajan; but there is some months of study in the collection.

Lastly, coming down the river, I walked from opposite Wasta to Helwan on the east

bank; but, beside Atfih, this part proved barren of remains before the late Roman and Cufic time, and no promising spot for tombs or rock sculpture is to be found. This brought me down to Dahshur, where I pitched for a couple of months, surveying the pyramids there; and, after some delay, having got an order to excavate, I uncovered the original base and casing of the two southern pyramids, the northern one I had not time to clear sufficiently to find the original base, as it has been so much destroyed. I also found, while exploring the desert west of them, the line of Roman road from Memphis to the Faium, marked out with stones at intervals of 2000, 1000 and 500 cubits of 20·6 inches. I bought from the Arabs many hundreds of stone weights from Memphis, which will settle the metrology of that district when studied.

The casts of the foreigners, Khita and Amar, Shairetana and Pulistu, Kush and Mashuash, and many others, I hope to exhibit a selection of at the forthcoming meeting of the British Association at Manchester, and a complete set of casts will be presented I believe to the British Museum. Photographs (of all but the useless repetitions) will be made, and available for study. I shall also be glad to receive applications from museums for sets of the casts. The other results I hope to put in shape and publish this autumn, and so wind up a season's work, and be ready for whatever else may be my next season's subject in that land. It is much to be wished that students would more generally take up monumental research in the country; the field is far from exhausted, and the difficulties in the way are not worth any hesitation. A familiarity with a small amount of colloquial Arabic, and the willingness to take to a rough life with tent and blankets, is all that is needful for any one with a real zeal for the subject.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

ZOROASTRIAN DEITIES ON INDO-SCYTHIAN COINS.

ALTHOUGH the latest in that long series of numismatic relics, which form our main documents for the history of the Greek and Scythic rulers of Bactria and India, the coins of the Turushka kings are perhaps the most important for the student of Aryan antiquities. Their extremely varied reverses exhibit in well-executed designs and clearly legible characters the figures and names of numerous deities, many among which, as already recognized by the first observers, bear an unmistakeably Zoroastrian character. These representations are, in fact, almost our only contemporary documents for that most obscure period in the history of Zoroastrian worship, which intervened between the fall of the Ancient Persian Empire and the Sassanian Revival. The identification of the types represented must therefore be considered a task of first-rate importance for the student of Iranian Religion. On the other hand, Historical Grammar can attach scarcely less importance to the elucidation of the legends, considering that they are clearly written phonetic specimens of the language, which can be dated, with something like chronological exactness, since the late Mr. Fergusson's ingenious discovery¹ has revealed the identity of the Çaka era (start from A.D. 78) with the era employed by the Turushka Kings of our coins in their Indian inscriptions.

The philological enquiry into the types and legends of the Indo-Scythic coinage has made but comparatively slow progress since the days of Prinsep and Lassen; but, perhaps, it may now be resumed with some chance of success, since Von Sallet's exhaustive monograph,² based on true historical criticism, and more recently Prof. Percy Gardner's excellent catalogue³ of the rich

collection under his care, have placed us in full possession of the numismatic facts. At the same time the great advance made in our knowledge of Zoroastrianism, through the more extensive study of its sacred literatures, enables us to utilize, with a clearer view of the issue, the fresh evidence of the coins. We shall attempt here to collect in a condensed form the information, which that remarkable coinage affords on the state of Iranian religion and speech in the centuries preceding the Sassanian epoch.

For the historical facts connected with the rule of the Yueh-chi or Kushans in India we can refer our readers at the present occasion to the above named publications of Von Sallet and Prof. Gardner; they afford but little material for the solution of the question, that mainly interests the Iranian scholar—viz., how and where these tribes of evidently non-Aryan descent became so deeply penetrated with Zoroastrian influences. From Chinese annals we are able to fix the date of the invasion, which brought the Yueh-chi under King Kadphises south of the Hindukôsh, at about B.C. 25; but it is not till a century later that we meet with distinct traces of Zoroastrianism among them. King Kanishka (on the coins **KANHPKI**) whom Buddhist tradition claims as the great patron of their church, and with whom the Çaka era originated (A.D. 78), is the first known to employ Iranian types and "Scythic" legends on his reverses. His successor was **OOHPKI** (*Hurishka*) whose inscriptions range from the year 33 to 51 of the Çaka era (A.D. 111-129): his very numerous coinage, from which Greek legends have now definitely disappeared, adds some new types

1. On the Çaka, Samvat and Gupta Eras, J. R. A. S. 1880, p. 259, sqq.
2. Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Bactrien and Indien Berlin, 1879.
3. The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, in the British Museum, London, 1886.

of Iranian deities to the already large Pantheon of Kanishka. The issues of Huvishka are the last of the Indo-Scythic coinage with which we are concerned on the present occasion, as the much inferior coins of a later king, who bears the name of **BAZOΔHO** (Vāsudeva in the inscriptions), are restricted in their types to the more or less barbarous representations of a few non-Zoroastrian deities.

The plates which accompany our remarks on the various types represent well-preserved specimens in the British Museum, for the casts of which we are indebted to the kindness of Prof. Gardner. These illustrations obviate the necessity of noticing in detail the characteristic designs of the types and the not less peculiar writing of the legends. The highly original treatment which the Greek characters have received at the hands of the Indo-Scythic die-cutters, would deserve special investigation from epigraphists; for our present object it may suffice to call attention to the general clearness and fluency which distinguishes very favourably this apparently barbarous writing on the gold coins of Kanishka and Huvishka from the crammed and ill-shaped legends of their Scythic predecessors.

In the large assembly of Zoroastrian deities, which the coins of their Scythic worshippers bring before us, *Mithra*, the God of heavenly Light, might well claim precedence, from the important position he occupies in Avestic mythology as well as in Eastern cult generally.



I. (Oer. 4).



II. (Oer. 67).

The Iranian Mithra has been long ago recognized in the very characteristic type of the Sun-god, which on the rare Greek

coins of Kanerki bears the name of **ΗΛΙΟΣ**. Not less varied than the representation of the God himself is the form in which his Iranian name appears. **ΜΙΟΡΟ** and **ΜΙΠΡΟ** are the most frequent readings, and represent but slightly varied pronunciations of the same form *mihir*, which the Avestic name must have assumed at a comparatively early date through the regular phonetic change of *th* into *h*. **ΜΙΠΡΟ** corresponds to the modern Persian *mihir*, with the well known interposition of a secondary vowel before *r*; **ΜΙΟΡΟ** represents *mihir*, and gives us a clear instance of the phonetic rendering of *h* by **Ο** (as in **ΟΟΗΡΚΙ** = *Huvishka*), to which we shall have to refer in the further course of our enquiry. The closing **Ο**, which recurs at the end of almost all Iranian names of the coins, can as yet not be accounted for with any certainty. The historical study of the Iranian language leads us to believe that the final vowel of Zend and Old Persian words was lost in their transition into the phonetic state of Middle Persian or Pahlavi; as the latter is in its main characteristics reflected by the legends of the Indo-Scythic coinage, this closing **Ο** cannot well be considered a representative of the old thematic vowels. We may, however, look for some connexion between this **Ο** and the sign which is added to so many Pahlavi words with consonantal ending, and is generally transcribed by *δ*.—Besides the above forms, we meet with numerous variants of the same name, viz.—**ΜΕΙΡΟ**, **ΜΙΥΡΟ**, **ΜΥΙΡΟ** on Kanerki coins (see Cat., pp. 131, 134, and Von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, p. 197), and **ΜΙΥΡΟ**, **ΜΙΡΟ**, **ΜΙΠΡΟ**, **ΜΙΠΡΟ** on those of Ooerki (see Cat. pp. 141—143, 155, 157; Von Sallet, p. 202 sq.) Some of these forms may be viewed as individual attempts to give a phonetical equivalent for the difficult aspiration, others, like **ΜΙΠΡΟ**, **ΜΟΡΟ** are

scarcely more than mere blunders of the die-cutters.

From this list of forms the supposed **MIΘPO** has been justly eliminated by Von Sallet; this archaic form can nowhere be read with any clearness, and would, in fact, not well agree with the general phonetic character of the names represented. It is of considerable interest to compare with the Scythic name of Mithra the various forms in which the identical name of the Iranian month *Mīhr* appears in the list of Cappadocian months. This list has been preserved for us in a chronological table, which compares the calendars of different localities, found in numerous Greek MSS. of Ptolemy's Canones. It has been carefully examined by Benfey,¹ and proved to contain the names of the months in the Zoroastrian calendar, as still in use in Cappadocia under the Roman rule. Iranian months are designated by the names of their respective tutelary deities, and as some of the latter are represented on the Scythic coinage, these Greek transcriptions of their names (which are found, too, in a much later form in the lists of Persian months given by Isaacus Monachus and other Byzantine chronologists) will give us much valuable help for the identification of the Scythic forms.

The MSS. of the Hemerologium, in which are contained the Cappadocian names, are divided into two classes: one of these presents us with the forms *Μηράν*, *Μωαρ*, *Μνοι*, *Μναρ*, which all correspond with more or less accuracy to the original *mīhr*, the **MIIPO**, **MIOPO** of our coins; the other class gives the older form *Μεθρί*, which may have been taken from an earlier compilation. The later lists of Byzantine origin represent the Persian *mīhr* by *Μεχρ* or *Μεχερ* (comp. Chrysococcos in Hyde, Religio Vett. Per-

sarum, 1700, p. 191; and Re'and, Dissertat. Miscellan., 1706, Pars ii., p. 111).

The representation of the god makes it sufficiently evident that the Avestic Mithra, already closely connected with the sun, had by that time become completely identified with it. None, however, of those numerous symbols, proper to the Western Deo Invicto Soli Mithrae, are to be found on the types of **MIPO**.

The type of **MIIPO** appears in conjunction with the not less characteristic representation of his heavenly brother the Moon-god, **MAO**, on a coin of the British Museum (Cat. Pl. xxvii, 24). The types of the latter resemble in all important features that given below (No. iv.), and agree well with the masculine conception of the Avestic Moon-god, called *māo* (= Skr. *mās*) or (with thematic stem), *māonhu*. His name becomes *māh* in Pahlavī and modern Persian, and this is the form which is represented by **MAO** of the coins. Whether the **O** corresponds to *h* as in **MIPO**, or is merely the closing **O** discussed above, cannot be decided. On two coins of the Br. M. (Oerki Nos. 38, 40) we find the fuller transcription **MAOO**, which probably must be read *māhō*. On a Greek coin of Kanerki (Cat. Pl. xxvi, 1), the usual male figure of the moon deity is accompanied by the legend **CAΛΗNH**.



III. (Kan. 14).



IV. (Oer. 30).

Here we may notice most conveniently a comparatively rare type of Kanerki (No. iii.) representing a bearded God with a trotting horse beside him, as, on account of the legend, we have to identify this deity with another, less known, inhabitant of

1. Ueber die Monatsnamen einiger alter Völker, Berlin, 1836, p. 76 sqq.

the ethereal regions in Avestic mythology. Although the former reading **ΑΡΟΟΑ-СПΟ**, had to be abandoned in favour of **ΑΡΟΟΑΣΠΟ** on the evidence of the well-preserved specimens examined by Von Sallet and Prof. Gardner (comp. Kanerki 14, 15 in Br. Mus.), the substantial identity of the word with Zend *Aurvat-aspā*, first proposed by Windischmann, can scarcely be doubted. The Avestic word, which literally means "swift-horsed," is the common epithet of both the sun (*haurv-khshaiti*) and the god Apām napāt "the Son of the Waters," whose original character as an old Aryan personification of the Fire, born in the clouds, *i.e.*, the Lightning, (comp. the *Apām napāt* of Vedic Mythology) can still be traced in Avestic passages. But having already observed that the Sun-god became merged with Mithra into the single type of **ΜΙΘΡΟ**, we may safely conclude that the **ΑΡΟΟΑΣΠΟ** of Kanerki is "the High Lord *Apām napāt*, the swift-horsed" of the Avesta. The puzzling initial **Α** of the Scythic legend may be explained with Prof. Hoffmann⁵ as the first trace of the phonetic process, by which *Aurvat-aspā*, the name of King Vishtāspa's father, was turned into *Lōhrāsp*, *Lubrāsp*, in Pahlavi and Persian. This process itself, however, is by no means clear, especially as we find the phonetically correct representant of Zend *aurvat-aspā* still preserved in the name *Arvānāsp*, which is mentioned in some genealogical lists as that of King Vishtāspa's grandfather. If **ΑΡΟΟΑΣΠΟ** is to be considered the link between the Zend form and the modern *Lubrāsp*, it must probably be read **Lrohāspō*, the second **Ο** representing the sound *h*, to which *t* was reduced in due course by its position between two vowels.

The type of the Iranian Wind-god, (running bearded figure with loose hair and floating garment), is very frequent on the bronze coins of Kanerki (see No. v., Cat. p.



V. (Kan. 63.)

135) and artistically, perhaps, the most original conception of the whole series. In his highly characteristic figure and the legend **ΟΑΔΟ** it was not easy to mistake *Vātū*, the "strong Mazda-created Wind" of the Avesta. The form **ΟΑΔΟ** is of great interest to the grammarian; it proves most conclusively that the change of intervocal *t* into *d* (cf. Zend *vātu* with Persian *bād*), which is ignored in the artificial spelling of Pahlavi (*vātō*), was an accomplished fact as early as the 1st century of our era.

The flames rising from the shoulders of the God, whose most common type is given below (No. vii.), would clearly proclaim him a personification of the Fire, so important for Zoroastrian cult, even if the legend were open to any doubt. **ΑΘΡΟ**, with the variant **ΑΘΟΡΟ** on a gold coin of Ooerki (see Cat. p. 136 and Pl. xxvii, 8), which represents the God in the very characteristic type of Hephaestus with hammer and tongs, is directly derived from Zend *āthr-*, the weak form of stem *ātur* "fire," and is, therefore, substantially identical with the Pahlavi *ātrō* (comp. *mītrō* for **mīthrō*) and the Persian *udhar* "fire." The latter form has survived beside the more common *ātash* (a descendant of the ancient Nominativ *ātars*) chiefly as the name of the 9th Zoroastrian month, which is transcribed by Isaacus Monachus and other Byzantine chronologists as *ἀδερ*.

5. "Abhandlungen" of the German Oriental Society. Vol. vii., 3, p. 150.

In the Cappadocian list of months we find the older form *Ἀρα*, which is, in fact, the closest approach to **ΑΘΡΟ** of our coins. *Atar*, "the son of Ormazd, the most great and beneficent Deity," is, in accordance with the all important part which the sacred fire plays in Zoroastrian cult, frequently addressed in the hymns and prayers of the Avestic ritual; and besides, a special supplication (*Nyâish V.*) is devoted to him. The tongs, with which **ΑΘΡΟ** is always represented, are mentioned among other instruments, required for the proper care of Ormazd's fire in a passage of the *Vendidad* (xiv. 7).

sceptre in the hand of **ΦΑΡΡΟ** on some types of *Oerki* (comp. *Cat. Pl.* xxviii. 26-29); its great importance for Zoroastrian mythology is indicated from the length of the *Yasht* (xix.), devoted to its praise, and the numerous legends, which have gathered around the *farr-ikayân* in later Persian tradition.

The God **ΟΡΛΑΓΝΟ**, whom a type of *Kanerki* (No. ix.) represents in the warlike attire of a Seythian, was first recognized by Benfey as *Verethraghna*, the Iranian war-god. The form **ΟΡΛΑΓΝΟ** presents us with a considerably older form of the name, than Pahlavi *Vərəhrān* (the *Ὀὐραράνης* of the Greeks), which, in modern Persian, is still further reduced to *Bahrām*. **Λ** as a rendering of the sounds *thr*, or more probably *hr*, is of considerable interest for the history of Iranian phonetics. **ΟΡ** = *vere* will prove useful evidence in favour of the explanation we have to propose for **ΠΑΟΦΟΡΟ**. In the bird, which appears sitting on the God's helmet, we recognize the bird *Vərəjāna* (or *Vərəghna*) of the Avesta, which was evidently sacred to *Verethraghna*, as the healing and protective power of a feather of that bird, if worn as an amulet, forms the object of special comment just in the *Yasht* of *Bahrām* (§ 34 sqq). The eagle-like appearance of the bird on our coins seems to point to a closer relationship between the bird *Vərəjāna* and the *Simurgh* (i.e., *çādnô mereghô "eagle bird") of the *Shâh-nâmâh* legend, than hitherto supposed.



VI. (Oer. 116).



VII. (Kan. 11).

In a God of apparently similar character (see No. vi.) who on the gold coins, especially of *Oerki* (comp. *Cat.* pp. 150-153) is frequently represented as holding fire in his hand, Prof. Hoffmann has very properly recognized a representation of "the mighty kingly Glory" the *kavâôm qarenô* of the Avesta. This deity's name reads **ΦΑΡΡΟ** or **ΦΑΡΟ** and corresponds to the Persian *farr*, both forms being derived from *farna*, which is the phonetic equivalent of Zend *qarenô* in the Ancient Persian of the Achaemenidian inscriptions. Zend *Vīñdo - qarena*, "winning glory," thus becomes, as a proper noun, *Vīñdafarna*, *Ἰνταφέρνης* in Old Persian, and **ΥΝΔΟ ΦΕΡΡΗΣ** on the coins of an Indo-Parthian ruler. Similarly, the *PIARNACOTIS* of Pliny, vi. 25, has been recognized by the present writer (see "*Academy*," 1885, p. 349) in the derivative form *qarenavahiti*, found as a river name in the Avesta. The "Kingly Glory," which is a Zoroastrian personification of lawful rule over Iran, is well characterized by the



VIII. (Ober. 95).



IX. (Kan. 29).

With *Verethraghna* we may connect most appropriately the winged Goddess, who appears in the distinct type of a *Nike*

holding wreath and trophy-stand on some rare gold coins of Ooerki (see No. viii. ; Cat. p. 147). Her name, which, with a slight variation, is written both **OANINΔA** and **OANINΔO**, induces me, in conjunction with the very characteristic type, to identify her with the female genius, whose name *vanaīnti uparūtāt* "victorious superiority" is invariably coupled in all formulas and invocations of the Avesta with that of *Verethraghna* (comp. e.g. Yaçna i. 6, Vispered i. 6, Yasht xiv. 0).

We prefer this explanation all the more to the hitherto accepted theory, which identified **OANINΔA** with the star *Vanaūt* (a male deity!), as it disposes effectually with the two difficulties, involved by the latter; both the female representation of **OANINΔA** and the Iota of the name, are now easily accounted for, the former by the feminine gender of *vanaīnti* (*uparūtāt*) and the later by the well-known phonetic influence of epenthetic *i*.

The opposite type (No. x.) presents us with unusual difficulties; it is found only on a unique gold coin of Ooerki, now in the British Museum (Cat. pp. lxi and 144) and is accompanied by a legend, which has sorely puzzled numismatists by its curiously contracted characters. The late Mr. Thomas identified the figure with an archaic representation of Artemis, but the supposed resemblance to the type of a gold coin of Augustus has been disputed by Von Sallet (p. 202). The bow and arrow in the hand of the deity are, however, unmistakable and may give us, perhaps, some clue to its true character. Scanning the ranks of Zoroastrian deities, we cannot help being reminded of *Tishtrya*, the star Sirius, whose later name, *Tir*, in Pahlavi and



X. (Ooer. 71).

Persian actually means "arrow." That the word in this second meaning is etymologically derived from Zend *tighri* (comp. Eustathius ad Dionys. 984 : *Μῆδοι γὰρ Τίγριν καλοῦσι τὸ τόξενμα*), is on one side certain; on the other there are very great grammatical objections against a direct derivation of *Tir*, "Sirius," from the Avestic word *Tishtrya*. We are thus led to suspect a replacement of the genuine derivative of *tishtrya* by the more common word for the arrow, which, in popular conception, was evidently an attribute of the Star: in a passage of the *Tir-Yasht* (viii. 37) we find the swift flight of the Star *Tishtrya* directly compared with that of an arrow.

The legend of our coin, to which we must now turn, has been read **ZEPO** by Mr. Thomas, and, with much greater exactness, **MEIPO** by Herr von Sallet; as, however, the latter's reading supposes a ligature between **M** and the following **EI**, which is unparallelled on Scythic coins, we shall scarcely be blamed for not surrendering at once on this particular point even to so great an authority. Taking the combined characters **EI**, which are in fact perfectly clear, for granted, and viewing the preceding strokes as a single independent character, we have no difficulty in recognizing the letter **T**. Its rounded shape is in perfect keeping with the general character of Scythic epigraphy; the explanation of its having so long escaped discovery, is contained in the fact that **T** is exactly one of those few letters which by chance have not yet occurred on the Turushka coinage. In order to obtain the link, which is wanted in the chain of evidence for the identification of the God, whose name we now read **TEIPO**, we have once more to recur to the list of Cappadocian months; there we find the name of *Tir*, the fourth Zoroastrian

6. My attention was called to this passage by Prof. Darmsteter, who further suggests an etymological connexion between *tishtrya* (*tj-tr-ya) and *tigh-ri* (*tir*).

month, rendered in the two best MSS of the second class by *Τειρεϊ*, a form to which the variants of the other two MSS *Τήρι* and *Τει* (for ***ΤΕΙΡ**) may easily be reconciled. Whatever explanation we shall have to give in future of *Τίρηξ* or *Τίριξ*, the reading of the first class of MSS and probably a much older form, it will not affect the conclusive evidence we derive from *Τειρεϊ* for the substantial identity of **ΤΕΙΡΟ** with *Tir*. It will be an object for future research to determine the exact phonetic stage in the transition from *tighri* to *tir*, which has been recorded by the curiously identical spelling of the Kappadokian and Scythic forms.

In view of the philological evidence given above for the identity of **ΤΕΙΡΟ** with the later name of Tistrya, we need not attach much importance to the difficulty, presented by the apparently female character of the type. The latter is evidently a mere reproduction of the Greek Artemis, which was a type ready at hand for an Indo-Scythian die-cutter wishing to exhibit in his type the characteristic emblems of the Deity, bow and arrow.



XI. (Oer. 106).



XII. (Oer. 103).

If the god, who appears in the above types (Nos. xi., xii.) and similar ones on the gold coins of Oerki (comp. Cat. Pl. xxviii. 17-19), has hitherto completely escaped recognition, it was certainly not owing to want of clearness in the legend or of distinctive character in the type. The latter presents us in all its variations with the well-modelled figure of a warrior in full Greek armour, with Greek helmet,

spear and shield (which on a single specimen in the British Museum, Pl. xxviii. 19, is replaced by a weapon resembling a hook). The legend reads on all well preserved specimens (for a wholly barbarous reproduction, see Br. Mus. Cat. Oer. 104), with uncommon clearness **ΠΑΟΦΟΠΟ** (see No. xii.), with the exception of Oerki 106 (see No. xi.), where we find the variant **ΠΑΟΦΟΑΡ**. No attempt has yet been made to interpret this remarkable name either with the help of Iranian or Indian philology; the application of a phonetic law, long ago recognized in other instances, will enable us to identify **ΠΑΟΦΟΠΟ** with the well-known name of a Zoroastrian deity.

In our opening remarks we had already occasion to mention **ΚΑΝΗΡΚΙ** and **ΟΟΗΡΚΙ** as the Scythic equivalents on the coins for the names *Kanishka*, *Hurishka* of the inscriptions and later texts. A comparison between these double sets of forms shows at a glance, that the Scythic **P** represents necessarily the same letter, as the *sh* of the Indian forms. That this Scythic sound, which, in the Greek writing of the Scythic coins was rendered by **P**, really bore the phonetic character of an *sh*, can be conclusively proved in the case of a third doublet, **ΚΟΠΑΝΟ** = *Kushana*, which was first identified by Lassen (*Ind. Alterthumskunde*, ii. 389) as the name of the ruling Indo-Scythian tribe. **ΚΟΠΑΝΟ**, on the obverses of the Turushka coins, follows immediately upon the name of the king, and corresponds in this position to **ΧΟΠΑΝ** of the legends of Kadaphes (one of Kanerki's Scythic predecessors), which in the Ariano-Pali of the reverses is actually translated by *Kushanasa* (comp. Cat. p. 123). That the latter form represents the genuine native pronunciation of the name, cannot be doubted, since we have, as to the *sh*, the independent testimony of the

Chinese transcript in the annals of the second Han Dynasty, which tell us that all the peoples under the Yueh-chi (Indo-Scythian) rule, when speaking of their sovereign, call him the King of the *Kwei-shuang*—i.e., Kushans (cp. *Journal Asiatique*, 1883, t. ii. 325).

If we suppose that the phonetic or graphic rule of **P** representing *sh*, which is so evident in the case of the Scythian words **KANHPKI**, **OOHPKI**, **KOPANO**, applied as well to the corresponding sound *sh* in the Iranian elements of the legends, we shall have no further difficulty in identifying **PAOPHOPO** with the third Ameshaspenta or archangel of the Zoroastrian creed, whose Avestic name *khshathra vairya* "perfect rule" becomes by ordinary phonetic changes *Shahrêvar* in Pahlavi and Persian. Of this later form of the name **PAOPHOPO** is an exact transliteration. For the first **O** representing *h* we can adduce the evidence of **ΜΙΟΡΟ** (and perhaps **ΛΡΟΟΑΣΠΟ**), for the second **O** = *va* that of **ΟΡΛΑΓΝΟ** and the still more convincing proof of the variant **PAOPHOAP** (see No. xi.), which actually presents us with the fuller spelling of the last syllable *var*.—*Shahrêvar* appears already in the Avesta, what he is *par excellence* in later Zoroastrian tradition, the genius of metals; the representation of **PAOPHOPO** in full metal armour with Greek helmet and shield, is therefore in signal agreement with the cosmologic character of the Zoroastrian deity.

The MSS. of the Hemerologium (see above) give the name of the 6th Cappadocian month (corresponding to the Pârsi *Shahrêvar*) in various forms, **Ξανθηρί** (4 MSS.), **Ξανθυρί**, **Ξανθριόρη**, **Ξανθρι**, etc., all of which show a much closer approach to the original *khshathra* (**Ξανθρ**

Ξανθρ) *vairya* (**ηρί**, i.e., ***φηρί**, **υρί**), than *shahrêvar*, **PAOPHOPO**. **Ξανθριόρη** is of peculiar interest, as marking the transition from the Zend form, of which it still keeps the **Ξ** and **ρ**, to *shahrêvar* = **PAOPHOPO**. It may, however, be doubted, whether the apparently more antique character of these Cappadocian forms is not merely due to learned archaicism, as in the case of the form *shat(r)-vairô*, which is used in Pahlavi texts indifferently with the genuine *shahrêvar*.

Late Greek transcripts of *Shahrêvar* are **Σαχριοῦρ** of Isaacus Monachus and **Σαρεβαρ** (see Hyde, p. 191).

PAOPHOPO, however, is not the only puzzle of the Indo-Scythic legends, that finds its simple solution by the assumption that the character **P** may also represent the sound *sh*. Although it is just on the obverses of Kanerki and Oerki, that we meet with the most convincing examples of **P** = *sh* (**KANHPKI** = Kanishka, **OOHPKI** = Huvishka, **KOPANO** = Kushan), nobody seems to have yet thought of utilizing their evidence for the enigma in the rest of the legend.

The full legends on the obverses of the Turushka-coins vary merely in the name of the king; they are on the gold coins of Kanerki: **PAONANO PAO KANHPKI KOPANO** (No. xiii), on those of his successor. **PAONANO PAO OOHPKI KOPANO** (No. xiv).



XIII.



XIV.

The only variants of any importance occur in the spelling of **KANHPKI** (once with the ending **KO**) and **OOHPKI** (written sometimes **OOHPKO**, **OOHPKE**,

OYOHPKI), and can easily be ascertained from the catalogue of Prof. Gardner. The bronze coins of Kanerki bear the short inscription **PAO KANHPKI**; those of Ooerki bear a legend, which is materially identical with that of the gold coins, but being written in a rather barbarous fashion was formerly misread into **PAONANO PAO OOHK KENO-PANO** (comp. Cat. p. lii). The corresponding legend of the rare Greek coins of Kanerki, **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ** (see Cat. p. 129), leaves no doubt as to the meaning of **PAONANO PAO**. It has been considered an established fact since the days of Prinsep, that Scythic **PAO** represents "King," and **PAONANO** the plural of the same word, but no satisfactory etymology of these forms has yet been offered. The proposed identification of **PAO** with the Indian *rāja* does not require a detailed refutation. We can neither suppose that the Scythians, so careful in their transcripts, should have persisted in ignoring the palatal *j*, nor that the quite modern Indian form *rao* should have appeared at that date in the Pali vernacular, which in the inscriptions of the very same Turushka Kings still exhibits the full forms *maharaja rajadhiraja*.

As the simple **PAO** evidently expresses **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ** (comp. the legend **PAO KANHPKI** of the bronze coins), we must look in **PAONANO** for a genitive plural, corresponding to **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ** of the Greek legend; but not only does Indian grammar not account for the peculiar form of this case-ending, but, moreover, the construction of the phrase is distinctly un-Indian.⁷ The order of its elements (Genitive plural + Nom. sing.)

is, on the contrary, exactly that observed in the Iranian title *Shāhan-shāh* (Old Persian *kshšāyathiyānām kshšāyathiya*), of which *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων* is the regular representative in Greek.

PAO and **PAONANO**, i.e., **shāhō* and **shāhananō shāhō*, are, in fact, the identical Iranian titles *Shāh* and *Shāhan-shāh*, which we can prove from other sources to have been the distinctive appellations of the Indo-Scythian rulers. In the Mathurā inscription⁸ of the (Çaka) year 87 Vâsudeva, the **BAZOΔHO** of our coins, is called Mahārāja Rājātīāja *Shāhi*; in the *divaputra shāhi shāhānashāhi çaka*, mentioned in the Allahabād inscription of Samudra Gupta, General Cunningham has long ago recognized a direct reference to the Turushka Kings, called *devaputra* "the sons of heaven" in their inscriptions; and, lastly, we find a late, but very distinct reminiscence of these Scythic titles in the Jain legend of Kālakāçārya,⁹ which calls the princes of the Çakas, the protectors of the saint, *Sāhi* (*Shāhi*) and their sovereign Lord *Sāhānsāhi*.

The form *Shāhi* (Prākrit *sāhi*) still preserves in its final *i* a trace of the old ending *ya* (in *kshšāyathiya*) which has disappeared in the modern Persian form *shāh*. The latter form is represented by our **PAO**, which, after the analogy of **MAO** = *māh*, we read *shāhō*.

The Indian transcripts of the fuller title may furnish us with valuable help for the determination of the grammatical ending in **PAONANO PAO**, which evidently forms a link between the ancient *kshšāyathiyānām* and the *shāhan* of the Persian title, and here we find the Prākrit *sāhānsāhi* of the Jain legend even more interesting than the

7. Comp. Prof. Oldenberg's Note: Indian Antiquary, 1881, p. 215.

8. Published by General A. Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India, *Reports*, vol. iii., p. 35 and Plat.: xv., 18.

9. Published by Prof. H. Jacobi, *Zeitschrift* of the German Oriental Soc. vol. xxxiv., p. 255.

sháhánasháhi of the Sanskrit inscription. Prof. Jacobi has already pointed out the striking analogy between the form *sáhánu* and the first part of the compound *devánuppiya*, which is the Prákrit form in the Jain texts for the Páli *devánumpriya* (Sanskrit *devánám priya*) "dear to the Gods," the well-known epithet of Aṣoka. By this analogy, which proves the Prákrit *-ánu* to be the representant of the older ending *-ánam* of the Genitive plural, when placed in the middle of a compound, we are carried back from *sáhánu* to an older form **sháhánam*. This form differs substantially from **PAONANO** only in the quantity of the second syllable, which in the Scythic form must be read *ha* not *há*, as for the latter we had to expect **A** (comp. **MAACHNO** = Skr. *mahásena*). This variation, however, which was necessary in order to give to the Iranian word the grammatical appearance of an Indian genitive plural, is of special interest, as it gives a distinct hint as to the grammatical character of the ending in **PAONANO**.

It is, in fact, the genuine Iranian ending of the genitive plural of thematic stems, *-ánám* in old Persian, but *-anām* in Zend, which we know to have been turned at a later stage of the language into the general plural termination *-án*.¹⁰ As this form and use of the ending occurs already in the earliest Pahlavi documents, the inscriptions of *Shápúr* I (A.D. 240-270), we should feel some difficulty about explaining the preservation of a much older form of the case-ending in **PAONANO**, if we could not refer our readers to the similarly archaic forms, which the Cappadocian list of months has preserved of *Abán*, the name of the 8th Zoroastrian month.

The plural form *ábán* (Pahlavi *ápánō*) designates the "waters," to which this

month is sacred, and must be derived from a thematic form of the Genitive plural in Zend, **apanām*. Benfey's MS II., from which we have already quoted **Ξανθριόρη** as the nearest approach to **PAOPHOPO**, gives us here, too, the best preserved form: **Ἀπονεμομι** represents undoubtedly **apanām máh* (comp. **Ἀπνεμα** = *ábán máh* of Isaacus Monachus, and, as to **μι** = **μα**, the variant **Ἀπομεναμι** VII. with **Ἀπομεναμά** X).

As the same list contains the comparatively modern form **Μηράν**, corresponding to **ΜΙΡΟ**, it cannot date back to a much earlier stage of the language than that represented on our coins. We are therefore fully entitled to see in **νεμο** essentially the same ending as in **NANO** of our legend. In both cases, the preservation of the full ending was probably due to its being protected by the following word (**PAO**, *máh*), which formed, in fact, with the preceding genitive a compound of the class, called *justaposé* by French Grammarians.

Most of the other MSS. read **Ἀπομεναμά**, **Ἀπομμεναμά** and similar forms, in which the transposition of *ν* and *μ* is easily accounted for by palaeographic reasons. Nor does the final **NO** of the ending **[PA]ONANO**, as compared with the *m* of the Zend ending *-anām*, offer any special difficulty, as various indications of Zend phonetics lead us to believe that the final *m* had in reality been merged into the nasal sound *ã*, to which the *m* of our MSS. was added only for orthographic reasons (comp. Bartholomae, *Handbuch der altiran. Dialecte*, § 79). This sound *ã*, the Indian *am*, is fitly represented by **ANO**.

After the fresh evidence we have given above for the representation of *sh* by **P**, we should still be unable to explain this remarkable fact, if we could not supplement our philological arguments by an

10. Comp. Prof. Darmesteter's *Etudes Iraniennes*, I. 124.

epigraphic observation. It refers to the fact (nowhere noticed in numismatical accounts, but easily ascertained from the coins themselves), that the charakter uniformly read **P** is actually found in two different forms on our coins. One is the ordinary Greek **P**, rather in its minuscule form, and may be seen *e.g.* in **MIPO**, **ΦAPPO** (Nos. ii. vi.); the other bears a slight upward stroke, and, in this shape, rather resembles an Anglo-Saxon **þ**. The latter form (which for brevity's sake we shall designate **þ**) seems constantly to be used for the *sh* of the obverses, but appears also sometimes in legends like **OPΛAΓNO** (No. ix.), **AΘPO** (No. vii.), where its value as *r* cannot be doubted, and where, therefore, the occurrence of **þ**=*sh* could be explained only by the assumption of a partial confusion of two charakters, so similar in their appearance. The minute examination of a larger number of coins, will, perhaps, supply us with distinct evidence as to the origin of this remarkable charakter **þ**=*sh*.

Both the forms **P** and **þ** are distinctly represented in the legend **APΔOXPO**, which accompanies a female type, holding cornucopiae, frequent on the coins of Kanerki and Oerki (see Nos. xv. xvi.)



XV. (Kan. 13).



XVI. (Oer. 6).

The first **P** appears always in the ordinary Greek shape, the second always like **þ**. We must, therefore, all the more

regret, that the real name of this evidently very popular Goddess, has not yet been ascertained. Her identification with Ashis vanguhi, the Avestic goddess of Wealth and Fortune,¹¹ is strongly recommended by the evidence of the type, which closely resembles that of the Greek Tyche; but we see as yet no way to reconcile her common name in later Zoroastrian tradition, *Ashishvang* or *Ardishvang*¹² (both forms derived from Avestic *ashis vanguhi*), with the form **APΔOXPO**. Nor do the occasional variants of the coins (see Cat. pp. 137, 138; **ΔOXPO**, Oer. 19), all of them with **þ** in the second place, afford any clue to this remarkable legend.

The same **þ** is twice met with in the legend **APAEIXPO**, which we read on a rare type of Oerki (see No. xvii.; Cat. p. 136) representing a male deity with radiate disk like **MIPO**.



XVII. (Oer. 4).

The name when read with due regard to the peculiar character of the two **þ**, might well remind us of the second Zoroastrian archangel, the personification of the "holy order" and the genius of the sacrificial fire, whose Avestic name *Asha-rahishta* appears in the substantially identical forms *Asharahishtō* and *Asharahishtō* (*Ashrahishhtō*) in later Zoroastrian literature (for Pahlavi *rd*—Zend *sh* see Note 12). The latter form of the name is represented in the Cappadocian list by *Ἀρταεστί*—*i.e.*, **Ἀρτα[ε]στί*; we should, therefore, not hesitate to identify **APAEIXPO**—*i.e.*, **ashrahishhtō* with *asharahishtō*

11. First suggested by Prof. Hoffmann; his explanation of **APΔOXPO**, however, is untenable as the supposed original form of the name: *Ashis ahurahō* "Ashi [daughter] of Ahura," is nowhere met with in Zoroastrian literature.

12. *Ashi*, originally **ereti*, appears again as *Ard* in Pahlavi; comp. Pahl. *ard* for Zend *asha = ereta*

of the Pahlavi, if any satisfactory evidence could be found for the phonetic change of *sht* into *khsh*, apparently involved by this explanation.

In the ranks of Zoroastrian Deities the Goddess **NANA**, very frequent on the coins of all Turushka Kings (see No. xviii), cannot fairly claim a place. Although her cult is found in various localities of Irân, as over a large part of Western Asia, there can be little doubt as to her non-Iranian origin. She was certainly never recognized by the Zoroastrian Church; and the few instances of her amalgamation with the Avestic Anâhitâ, in the West and in a syncretistic age,¹³ are by no means sufficient to prove, that her worship in Indo-Scythia was in any way connected with Zoroastrian cult. It evidently preceded and outlasted the latter; her name is found in the form of **NANAIA** (as on the Greek coins of Kanerki) on the coins of an earlier king, who makes use of the type of Eucratides (comp. Von Sallet, p. 99; Cat. p. 119), and it still occupies a prominent place on those of Bazodeo, from which all true Zoroastrian types have already disappeared.



XVIII. (Baz. 1).



XIX. (Ocer. 26).

We cannot enter here into a discussion of those few types, which can as yet not be assigned to any of the various mythologies represented on our coins. The most puzzling amongst them is perhaps the four-armed figure, with the legend **MANAO-BAGO** (see No. xix.), for which a satisfactory interpretation has still to be found. More Zoroastrian in appearance are the similarly obscure and rare types of Oerki with the legends **ONIA**? (Nos. 68-70), **ODIIO** (94), **PIOM**? (109), and **WPON** (138, 139).

A comparatively large number of fresh types has been found during recent years on very scarce, sometimes even on unique specimens; we are, therefore, fully entitled to hope that further finds of Turushka coins, like the find at Peshawar, may yet reveal to us some new representations of Zoroastrian Deities.

The testimony of the types and legends examined above is, however, in itself sufficient to establish the important fact, that Iranian language and traditions as well as Zoroastrian religion were introduced into India by its Indo-Scythian conquerors. The eloquent and most authentic evidence of the Turushka coinage thus furnishes a safe starting point for all future enquiries into that fascinating epoch in the history of the Aryan nations, which witnessed the interchange of Buddhist and Magian influences between India and Irân.

M. A. STEIN.

13. Collected by Prof. Hoffmann in his exhaustive notes on Nanai, "Abhandlungen" of the *D.M.G.*, vol. vii., part 3, p. 130 sqq.

14. We may mention as an independent confirmation, the more interesting as it comes from researches pursued in a different direction, that Mr. Darmesteter has recognised in the Mahâbhârata legends of clearly Iranian origin, the introduction of which he traces to the Indo-Scythian period (see the forthcoming number for Juillet-Aout, 1887, of the *Journal Asiatique*).

THE

BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

The Editorial Committee is not responsible for the opinions or statements of the Contributors.

As next number closes our first year's issue, we take this opportunity to thank our Contributors and Subscribers for their forbearance as to the shortcomings inseparable from the starting of a Magazine like this, established on cheap lines, and yet publishing every month papers of high scientific and philological value.

The large promises of help received from many of our Contributors are a sure index that the RECORD will become more and more important and attractive to all those who are interested in Oriental research.

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The RECORD will henceforth contain 24 octavo pages; and, with illustrations and improved typography, will appear in a more convenient form, without any change in the price.

EDIT.

YEMEN INSCRIPTIONS.—THE GLASER COLLECTION.

THE British Museum has just made a considerable acquisition of genuine stones coming from Yemen. They have been secured by M. Edouard Glaser in the second journey which he undertook in these localities in 1885. It is from the harvest of this same journey that formerly came the monuments acquired at Berlin, and described concurrently by the intrepid explorer, whom his *Mittheilungen* have shown to be a lucid interpreter of the Himyaritic texts, and by Prof. David Heinrich Müller, whose competence in these matters was sufficiently established by his former publications.

Before devoting myself to these new inscriptions, I proposed at first to wait till the British Museum could place at my disposal some "squeezes." But I was afraid to defer a first decipherment, which will doubtless provoke some criticisms upon my improvised attempt. Scholars may build on my

somewhat frail foundations, after having taken care to consolidate them. Only let them not be too severe upon the first worker in the field, who did not wish to keep to himself only the materials he possessed in the copies, kindly made at his request by M. Ed. Glaser personally. To elaborate these materials scientifically, I have not at my disposal my own dictionary in slips nor many of my most indispensable books. In those circumstances, my translation will present numerous *lacunæ*, and more than one comparison will necessarily escape me. But, the ground once cleared, further advance on it will be more secure; and, in any case, should I not have any other reward, I shall yet rejoice at the thought of having shown the access, and of having opened the way to the Semitists.

Vichy, 26th July, 1887.

I.

GLASER, 282.

This monument, composed of five fragments, comes from As-Saudâ, in the Djauf. The joining of the fragments is given after

the copy of M. Ed. Glaser. The inscription, written in the Minean dialect, is as follows :

Hebrew Transcription:

- מריב | ננו 1
 חל | את־משכאי | יום | הן | פתח | ח | מנ 1
 נ | נה | ועות | וסעדב | דהבל | במחולה | מלתן | בן | ארץ | עמ 2
 אהל | אמנהתן | בהני | באס | כבני | תעדסם | עם | מען | דן | מבנית 3
 נאי | מען | ביבנין | וסעדב | צלותן | ומחול | מלתן | ו 4
 ומחפדה | צפו | אחלי | מלתן | לאי | יבני | ב | מען 5
 אן | ומלתן | והמאי | דינצו | אהל | יה 6
 ל | ושכאי | עתנה | בהני | באס | כ | ולבן | ו 7
 שימה | מחולן | עד | שן | הגר | שכד | ופא | ול | יבתנן 8
 ולענסם | שכד | לען | מען | יומנת | פתחן | ומת 9
 הופאל | דניש | וסתוקה | סמ 10

Partial Translation :

- [N . . . , son of . . . , with his sons, people of]
 1 Maryab, descendants of . . . , has renewed . . . , in the day in which he pierced (?) this opening, to the right of the other opening—
 2 ning, the construction, the consolidation, and the repair of that which had fallen into ruins in the sacred ground of the oratory (?) and in the land of Am[saman], between
 3 the people of Manahât, descendants of Bou's, at the same time as the people of Ma'in constructed, as their building (?), this monument
 4 Ma'in, the builder. And he has repaired Şalwat, and the sacred ground of the oratory (?), and
 5 and the fortress of Dafw, . . . of the oratory (?), in order that (?) they might build . . . of Ma'in
 6 . . . and the oratory (?), and in order that might humble themselves (?) the people of
 7 . . . in the day when he has taken care of the descendants of Bou's . . . and . . .
 8 patron of the sacred ground to the temple (?) of the city of Schakadh . . . and may it be built
 9 . . . and their territory (?) Schakadh, territory of Ma'in, to the right of the opening and of the restored monument
 10 . . . Hanfil, of Nayit, and he committed to the Sama[ites] the care of

Line 1. There were several מריב in Yemen, as we learn from Glaser, *Mittheilungen*, p. 66.—I read next ננו or בני.—Read כתב, and see the examples given in D. H. Müller, *Sieyf. Lang. Reiseb.*, p. 37—38.—שכאי is perhaps a name of god; cf. l. 7.—The verb which follows יום is not clear. It ought to have the same sense as גזו in inscription 1, l. 7.—At the end, I complete פתח | יומנת | פתחן. cf. l. 9, and inscription 1, l. 7.—Line 2. בנה is an infinitive of the verb בני.

l. 3.—On the sense of עות as an architectural term, see Mordtmann und Müller, *Sab. Denk.*, p. 91, note 1, and D. H. Müller, *Sieyf. Lang. Reiseb.*, p. 64—65.—סעדב is here equally an infinitive, the three infinitives forming a series of construct states connected with דהבל, which has the value of a substantive, and which signifies "that which has fallen into ruins"; cf. the Arabic خبال; I read likewise at the end of Hal. 237, l. 2; see also the same expression in Hal. 485, l. 2.—I have translated מחול

Hebrew Transcription:

- 1 אליפע | וקה | מלך | מען | ושעבס | מען
 2 רתד | וסשרח | עם | ראב | דניט | כאידרו
 3 כונת | דת | גזיתן | אצנע | כל | גז
 4 פע | אחלי | דניט | בדן | רבן | אל
 5 תוקה | רשוי | אלהן | וקדם | מנות

Provisional Translation:

- 1 Ælyafa' Waqah, king of Ma'in and of his tribe of Ma'in
 2 has consecrated and set forth, with Ra'b of Nayiṭ, by virtue of their po[wer], . . .
 3 This poll-tax, the greatest of all the poll-[taxes], has been . . . [Da]—
 4 fw (?) . . . of Nayiṭ, in this domain, and . . . [he committed]
 5 the care to the two priests of (the tribe) Alhân. and to the chief of . . .

Line 1. אליפע; cf. Hal. 191, l. 1; 229, l. 1; 260, l. 1 : 445, l. 1. I believe that the king of Ma'in Ælyafa' Waqah is found here for the first time.—For the context “king of Ma'in and of his tribe of Ma'in”, cf. Hal. 199, l. 3.—Line 2. וסשרח seems to be like a fourth form of שרח “to enlarge, to expose”, having very nearly the sense of the first.—I have attributed to עם the sense of the Hebrew preposition עם “with” (مع in Arabic), the meaning proved for עמן in Glaser 302, l. 4; cf. Glaser Mitt., p. 40—41.—The proper name ראב is found, according to Glaser, *ibid.*, p. 41, in an inscription of Prætorius with the mination (see *Zeit. der deut. morg. Gesell.*, XXVI); cf. Hal. 353, l. 1, according to which ראב would be abridged from ראבאל; cf. our observations on שרח, inscription I, l. 8.—דניט (cf. l. 4), see inscription II, l. 10.—ל = כ precedes without doubt אידנהסס; cf. Hal. 478, l. 6 and 7, and the parallel passages quoted in D. H. Müller's *Sieg. Lang. Reiseb.*, p. 25 notes.—Line 3. כונת, third pers. sing. fem. of the perfect; verb כון = كان “to be”,

as in Arabic and in Aramean.—גזיתן = الجَزَيْتِيَّة, a word we suppose likewise after כל at the end of the line.—אצנע, a form of masculine superlative, whose feminine is صنعاء *San'â*, the name of the present capital of Yemen, see *Corp. insc. Sem., pars quarta*, p. 2—3.—Line 4. I suggest צפון | אחלי, as in inscription II, l. 5, although this comparison does not explain the obscure sense of אחלי.—I have explained רבן according to the Arabic مرَب and مرَباب.—Line 5. Read וס[תוקה], as in the inscriptions I, l. 9; II, l. 10.—רשוי | כלהן of Hal. 237, l. 4, has been completed by רשוי | כלהן in D. H. Müller, *Siegf. Lang. Reiseb.*, p. 86, and translated by “the two priests of the tribe or place named Kahlân.” Here likewise I translate: “the two priests of the tribe Alhân”; on this tribe, see D. H. Müller, *ibid.*, p. 14—15.—For קדם = قدام, compare Hal. 237, l. 3.—בנות is a proper name or the beginning of a proper name; cf. inscription XXXVI (Glaser 343=Hal. 406), l. 2, and the name of a town בנינתם, in Hal. 596, l. 6.

Fragmentary Translation :

- 1 and of this idol, an
- 2 in the retinue of Dhoû Raimân, and
- 3 Rabb'il (?), of Tatnat and Thatdak
- 4 in opening of the tomb, and
- 5 of Ma'in, which had raised the Sama[ites
- 6 You'aus'il, of Ganad, and Mi'yan
- 7

. םוּיחֹפּוּיִלְלִיִּם׃ 1
 םוּחֹפּוּיִלְלִיִּם׃ 2
 םוּיחֹפּוּיִלְלִיִּם׃ 3
 םוּיחֹפּוּיִלְלִיִּם׃ 4
 םוּיחֹפּוּיִלְלִיִּם׃ 5
 םוּיחֹפּוּיִלְלִיִּם׃ 6

Line 1. בן = ^{בן}בין ; cf. inscription

Hebrew Transcription :

. וְדָן | וְתַנְן | חֶפְלָד | ק 1
 וּמִסְפַּחַת | וְתוֹ 2
 פְּנֵי | יְתַלְרַב | בֶּן | שׁ 3
 פֶּסֶא נִם | הֶלֶם 4
 לְעַל 5
 תַּחֲקָה . עֵישׁ 6

VII, l. 4.—Line 2. מִסְפַּחַת : cf. סַפַּחַת in inscription VII, l. 2.—Line 3. דָּאֶהֱלָ | דְּרִימִן : cf. דְּרִימִן Hal. 144, l. 1 : 150, l. 2.—Line 5. I have read רַבֵּל, perhaps רַבְלָא : the *Kâmoûs* knows the contraction רַבֵּיל for which Al-Firoûzâbâdhî recommends the pronunciation, *Ribbil* like *Sikkîl*, see Mordtmann und Müller, *Sab. Denk.*, p. 72.—Line 5. דְּנַגְרוֹ, cf. inscription I, l. 6.—I complete סְמַעְנִי according to inscription I, l. 9.—On דְּגַנְדָּר | יְאוּסְאֵל, see inscription I, l. 9.—Read רַמְעֵי־נִי, according to D. H. Müller, *Sieqf. Lang. Reiseb.*, p. 28.

VII.

GLASER, 288.

This is the text engraved on the reverse of the same stone :

This text contains nothing clear, except 1st, l. 1, וְדָן | וְתַנְן “and this idol”; 2nd, l. 3, after a preposition ending in פְּנֵי “before”, the proper name יְתַעַכְרַב, as M. Glaser suggests to me, followed by בֶּן “son of”.—Line 4. The obscure פֶּסֶא is already found in inscription VI, l. 1.—Line 5. לְעַל “on high”, see Os. 13, l. 11.

VIII.

GLASER, 289.

This is a fragmentary inscription brought from Ma'in. Here is its tenor :

. םוּיחֹפּוּיִלְלִיִּם׃ 1
 םוּיחֹפּוּיִלְלִיִּם׃ 2
 םוּיחֹפּוּיִלְלִיִּם׃ 3
 םוּיחֹפּוּיִלְלִיִּם׃ 4
 םוּיחֹפּוּיִלְלִיִּם׃ 5

3rd, in the main body of the stone:

- 1 אלכרב | יהנעם | בן | המתע ...
 2 טבין | נפסהו | ואלנהו | וכ ...
 3 בני | סמהאפק | ויהען | בן | נש ..
 4 ואדם | וקסדם | בעם | הופי

Provisional Translation, at first of the quadrangular line:

.. 'Alhān of Ta'allouk, the . . . of his land 'Alabāt
 with the descendants of Šaman (or Sama')

Then of the principal inscription :

- 1 ʾĪlkarīb Youhan'im, son of Himmat'a [that
 2 ʾṬhabyân, his person, his fortune, and a[ll
 3 descendants of Samah'afak, and Youha'im, son of Nascha[karib(?)
 4 and his (?) servants, the servants(?) of the family (?) of Hau'fa[that

Line running round the stone: עלהן =
 עליהן, cf. Os. 91, l. 1; *Corp. insc. Sem., pars
 quarta*, p. 10, by opportunity of inscription 2,
 l. 11—תארקם; cf. Glaser 302, l. 2, and
 that which D. H. Müller and Glaser
 have said about it, this, not only in his
Mittheilungen, but also in his *Südarabische
 Streitfragen* (Prag, 1887).—The ob-
 scure word מלעב, which seems here to
 designate a function or a dignity, is found
 already in Glaser 302, l. 7.—אערבת-
 in spite of the transposition, appears as if
 it should belong to the same root; perhaps
 there has been here a carelessness of the
 engraver.—On the preposition עמי “with”,
 see Glaser, *Mittheilungen*, p. 40—41. I have
 thought I recognised the preposition עם
 in inscription III, l. 1.—I am inclined to
 read at the end סמעם, as in inscription I,
 l. 8.

Inscription properly speaking.—Line 1.
 ארכרב: cf. Hal. 7, l. 1; 389, l. 1 (in-
 stead of אלכבר): Langer, 10, l. 1: see *Corp.*

insc. Sem., pars quarta, p. 16 & 33.—Com-
 plete הומתעלתת, according to Glaser 302,
 l. 4.—At the end of the line, after the
 genealogy and the titles of ʾĪlkarīb have been
 completely given, I read הקני | תארב | עדי
 according to Glaser 302, l. 1: “has vowed
 to Ta'lab, in”.—Line 2. The geographical name
 of ʾṬhabyân has given ground for some polemics;
 see last of them, Ed. Glaser, *Südarabische
 Streitfragen*, p. 15 & ff.—At the end, I supply
 וכול | ולדהו | וקניהו “and all his children
 and all his acquisitions”, according to
 Glaser 302, l. 2.—Line 3. סמהאפק; cf.
 Glaser 302, l. 3. Let it be said occasionally,
 in the compounded proper names, whose
 first term is סמה, I do not admit the ex-
 planation by اسم, but I see in סמה an
 analogous verb to the Arabic سما “to be
 high”.—יהען; cf. Glaser 302, l. 1 and
 4.—The noun which ends the line is very
 probably נשא[כרב.—Line 4. I suggest, un-
 less the inscription itself forbids it afterwards,

giš ba-ġar
ka (or *gu*) *al-ka* (or *gu*)
sis (or *ur*) *ba-mul* (or rather *gul*)
 Col. 3, i *Im-bi(-ki) dug-dug-ġa-a*
im-mi-dib
šig-bi read (*šigá-bi*)
ki-il-a
 5 *im-mi-ġab*
uš-bi mu azag
ní im-ta-lal
tí-bi
ní-ir-nun-ka
 10 *šú šub* (written *šum*)-*ba-ni-ka*
i (house) *ki-ġ-ġà-ni*
i-an-na šag-Gir-su (-ki)-ka
 13 *mu-na-ni-rù*

giš-ba-an-ġar
ku al-ka
 15 *sis ba-mul*
Im-bi(-ki) azag-ġa
im-mi-dib
šig-bi ki-il-a
im-mi-ġab
 Col. 3, i *uš-bi mu azag*
ní-ni im-ta-l l
tí-bi
ní-ir-nun-ka
 5 *šú šub-ba-ni-ka*
Ur-azag-ġa(-ki)
laġ-laġ-ġa-a
 7 *i* (house)
mu-na-rù

EXPLANATION.

In *giš-tuġ* "ear" (C. 2, 17; F, 2, 9) is **𒄩**- an unspoken determinative element. C. 2, 20, seems *giš* before *ša* only left out by negligence of the architect For C. 2, 23, F, 2, 15, compare Cyl. A 24, 21 *sis-bi...ba-mul-mul*.

Very interesting is the name *Imbi(-ki)*, a town on the Babylonian-Elamite frontier: compare 3. Rawl. 41 *Bit Imbi'āti*, and De-litsch. Paradies, p. 324, *Bit-Im-bi*: perhaps we may also compare Cyl. A, 16, 16f, *ġur-ġag-urad* × *Ki-maš-ta*, *Imbi mu-na ab-pad*, *urud-bi ġi si-a-ba mu-ni-ba-ul*, that is, "in the copper - mountain Kimaš, which Imbi is called his name, he has dug (*ba-ul*) his copper (with) his..." This translation right, it would prove the nearest relationship of *Kimaš* (or *Kimar*?, cf. my *Babyl.-Assyr. Geschichte*, p. 327) and *Imbi*.

ki-il-a, a bright spot; in other places the expression is used for "virgin" (*ardatu*), the meaning "brightness, chasteness, (cf. *ki-agg*, "love") becoming metaphorically "virgin".

That *ní ní im-ta-lal* is the object of the verb (and not *ní-im-ta-lal*, *nim-ta-lal* for

nin-ta-lal), is proved by the variant *ní-n im-ta-lal*.

II.

End of 1881, having read Dr. Haupt's paper on a new Sumerian dialect, I discovered in 2 Rawl. 59 a bilingual list (cf. Haupt, *Akkad. Sprache*, p. xx), of a kind similar to that which Haupt and Pinches pointed out in 5 Rawl. 11/2. Today I should like to give attention to some interesting facts contained in this bilingual list of Gods (left: Neo-Sumerian, midst: Old-Sumerian, right: Babyl.-Assyrian). Long ago, I supposed that **𒄩** had the original reading *ġud*, *ġa* in Sumerian, *ba* (*wa*) in Neo-Sumerian, and that the Assyrian "Lautwerth" *pa* is only a hardening of the Neo-Sum. *wa*: now, we read 2 Rawl. 59, 14, **𒄩** (*ú-a* (i.e. *wa*), in **𒄩** **𒄩**, *itu Nasku*.

Prof. Haupt pointed out, that in the Penitent. Psalms we have *šir-eal* for *nir-ġal*: 2 Rawl. 59, 29, we read another example: *šiu mu-mu, nin-mu-mu, ilat Nin-sig* The old syllable *ni* became at first *yi*, (comp. also *nin*, "whatever", before substantives to *ġin*, *ġim*, *in*), then *yi* became *ši* i.e. the French *ji*.

Fritz Hommel.

THE LAND OF SINIM IN ISAIAH.

PROF. T. DE LACOUPERIE has set a good example in treating the Hebrew prophecies from the point of view of Oriental philology, though I doubt the propriety of using the phrase, "the inspired author," in a purely philological journal (The Bab. and Or. Record, No. 3, p. 45), and regret the *lapsus calami* by which he speaks of the "Book which goes by the name of Isaiah" as having been written in Babylon during the captivity. That, however, is not the motive of my present little paper. Prof. de Lacouperie could not help writing as a scholar, and the points to which I have taken exception are of no great moment. But was it not hasty of him to declare* that recent exegetes have upheld the identification of the name of the Sinim with that of the Chinese, following a track beaten by the early Sinologists, and unaware of the peculiarities of the evolutions of the Chinese sounds in the course of history (*ibid.*, p. 46). No one could perhaps criticise my own work on Isaiah more severely than myself, but it is, at any rate, well known, being in its 4th edition, and Prof. de Lacouperie's not unfriendly attack on recent exegetes is not in the least justified by what I have said in my appendix on "The Land of Sinim," in Vol. II of *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, nor, I believe, by Delitzsch's commentary. I have there admitted that Gesenius's reasoning (see his Isaiah, 1821, evidently known to Prof. de Lacouperie)

"falls short of demonstration," and that his most plausible argument from the Chinese name of an old ruling dynasty and from the Chinas of the Laws of Manu and the Mahâbhârata, is "now known to be valueless." I should, no doubt, have obtained a critical examination even of this exploded theory from some good Sinologist, and not referred merely on Strauss and Richthofen; but the range of study required for the illustration of "Isaiah" is large, and something was necessarily left for future editions. I revised the work in many parts for the 3rd edition, but that appendix still appears substantially in its original form. What I want Prof. de Lacouperie to do is, to criticise that form of "the Chinese theory" which I, no expert, have doubtless inadequately represented as based on "the frequent use of *sjin* (nearly = *chin*), literally "man," to describe persons according to their qualities, occupation, county, or locality." Prof. de Lacouperie's memory will easily suggest analogies for such an appropriation of a word meaning "man" in general to a particular nation. I know that he is far from being prejudiced against the theory I adopted in my book, and have annotated my own copy of *Isaiah* with several references to his writings. And, in conclusion, were there Israelites among the Shinas on the slopes of the Hindu-Kush?

T. K. CHEYNE.

* In the incriminated article, however, I did not declare (as Prof. T. K. Cheyne wants me to have said) "that recent exegetes have upheld the identification of the name of the Sinim with that of the Chinese," thus implying that if not all the recent exegetes, at least the most important of them, had done so—a statement which I could not make, as I knew it would have been inaccurate. I only said "the late exegetes who have upheld . . ." thus implying that some of the late exegetes did not share the same view, as I was well aware of, though, I must confess, the appendix written on *The Land of the Sinim* by the learned Professor of Oxford, in his valuable work on *The Prophecies of Isaiah* (London, 1884, 3rd edit., vol. II., pp. 20—23) had not been read by me.—T. DE L.

THE LAND OF SINIM, NOT CHINA.

IN my previous article on *The Sinim of Isaiah, not the Chinese* (B. and Or. R., January), I have attempted to show that Sinim in Isaiah could not be the representative of the name of the Chinese, so far as the antecedent of this name was supposed to be that of a western state of the Chinese Confederation and of a dynasty (the first of the Empire, founded by the ruler of the same state), written with a symbol now pronounced *Ts'in*, and formerly read TAN. And I have tried to show that the name of SINIM represented that of the SHINAS, on the slopes of the Hindu-Kush.

The critical part of my paper had been limited to the examination and disproval of the most sensible hypothesis ever put forward, and which, despite Strauss and Richthofen, had not yet been proved false with reference to the Sinim.¹ Now it happened that other hypotheses, and especially one, which I had looked upon as unimportant, and neglected accordingly, have been taken seriously by some scholars, and therefore must be disposed of, in order that my explanation *Sinim = Shinas* should stand unimpeached.

I am much indebted to Prof. T. K. Cheyne, as well as to two other correspondents, for having called my attention to the matter, and thus given me the occasion of writing the present article.

I.

The first contention, in opposition with my views, was that the case of the Sinim = Chinese is not to be despaired of, notwithstanding that the identification of Sinim with the name of the Western Chinese State of Ts'in, and that of the Chinas of the Laws of Manu and the Mahâbhârata is finally disproved by Strauss and Richthofen. Though I have come to the latter negative conclusion, it is not for the reasons put forward by the translator of the Shi-King and the traveller geographer, which I do not consider to be conclusive. The *Chinas* of the *Mânava dharmasâstras* (x, 44) as well as those of the *Lalita vistara* (x) and the first of the two of the same name mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata* (Bhisma Parvan) are undoubtedly the Shinas of the Hindu-Kush.² But in the latter poem there is a second people of *Chinas* mentioned along with the *Romanas*, *Dasamalikas*, etc., after several ferocious and uncivilized races, and this special arrangement shows that in the mind of the poet there was a great difference between the two Chinas, the second one being looked upon as more distant foreigners and greater barbarians than the other.³ The late Pauthier, and the two German scholars in his train, do not seem to have known anything of the second Chinas of the great Indian epos, whose

1. Freiherr von Richthofen has rightly shown that the name of China originated in the south, through the foreign trade with Indo-China, and especially with the Kiao-tchi (Tungking), about the Christian era. But he was wrong in his suggestion that the antecedent of the name of *China* was that of *Jih-nan* (a part of Tungking, now Nghê-an), as this name was then pronounced NIT-NAM, and is still read *Nhüt-nam* in Sincio-Annamite, the most archaic of the Chinese dialects, and that which has nearly preserved the sounds of the aforesaid period. The historical antecedent of the name of China I have found to be the name TSEN, an important non-Chinese State in Yunnan and Tungking, which had for centuries monopolized the trade of the region (cf. my *Beginnings of Writing*, I., sec. 80—81, and my notice in Col. H. Yule's *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Terms*, pp. 150—151.)

2. Cf. A. von Gutschmid, *Z.D.M.G.*, vol. xxxiv., pp. 202—203.

3. Cf. *Beginnings of Writing*, II., sec. 150.

presence would put right the views of the French author and upset those of the two German writers, if we were not in a position to show it to be a mere moonshine. In my paper *The Sinim of Isaiah, not the Chinese* (III.), I have stated that the name of *Tsin* did not exist in former times under that form which is a late and corrupted pronunciation of the name TAN, a long while after the name had disappeared either as a name of a particular state or of a dynasty. Therefore the second *Chinas* of the Mahâbhârata, unless it be an interpolation, cannot be the Chinese. But they may be the people of *Sin* or *Seni* or *Chin*, which, according to Tabari (II., 158¹) was the name of Samarkand before the time of Shamar, and which I have mentioned in my aforesaid paper.⁵

II.

The second line of argument rests on the facts of intercourse, ascertained and unascertained between the Chinese (or better China) and the West. Here I am ready to join, and I might adduce fresh evidence, should this be the place to do so, which it is not.⁶ But I am compelled to traverse the statements given on the unsafe authority of the late G. Pauthier. The amusing story of ambassadors wearing long robes

sent to the Chinese Emperor Yao from the Yueh tchang, and carrying as presents white pheasants, besides a tortoise of 1000 years old, the back of which inscribed in *K'oh-tou* or tadpole, otherwise cuneiform characters, is a splendid mare's nest, for the building of which the French has vied of ingenuity with the Chinese writer.⁷ This is another instance of the importance for those engaged in Chinese researches not to trust the late compilations, historical and geographical, which are generally uncritical, and present combinations and interwoven records of unhistorical facts, arranged with the remarkable and usual ingenuity of the Chinese under that respect, and so far difficult to disentangle for European criticism unaware of the process. In this case Pauthier has taken his story, with the exception of the words in italics which are his own additions, from the *Sih wen hien tung K'ao*, compiled by Wang K'i in 1586, as a supplement to the well-known and uncritical *Wen hien tung K'ao* or "Antiquarian Researches" of Ma Twanlin (D. circâ A.D. 1325). The oldest authority which I find in favour of the story is that of Jen Fang, at the beginning of the VIth century, in his *Shih-i-ki* or "Notes on the Wonderful." Previous to

4. Cf. Ed. Thomas, *Bilingual Coins of Bokhara*, p. 4 (Repr. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1881.)

5. The existence of this smaller Chin gives a clue to the adoption in the VIth century of the appellative of *Maha-China* for the great empire of China. This explanation, which I propose here for the first time, does away with many difficulties in the geographical accounts of that period.

6. The notion that the "envoys" from Yueh-tchang did wear long robes has been unwisely inferred by Pauthier, from the meaning of the compound symbol read *tchang* or *shang*, which, in its present form, means simply "the lower garments," (cf. W. H. Medhurst, *Chinese-English Dictionary*, s. v. p. 1001), and which, at the time when the name was put in writing, was perhaps composed of other phonetic ideograms (cf. Min Tsi Kih, *Luh shu tung*, Bk. iv., f. 7), carrying a different meaning. However, the idea ideographically expressed by Yueh-tchang, is simply the lower of the outside borders, implying the extreme south.

7. In his *Essai sur l'origine et la formation similaire des Ecritures figuratives Chinoise et Egyptienne* (Paris, 1842, pp. 9-10), the late G. Pauthier had suggested that this writing was that of Egypt. It is only in his *Histoire des relations politiques de la Chine* (Paris, 1859, pp. 5-8), that he suggested that this Tortoise writing was the cuneiform characters.

this rather suspicious source, no mention is made of the inscribed tortoise with reference to the Yueh-tehang envoys whose story is reported at length by several authorities of the second century B.C., such as Fuh Sheng in his *Tu tsh'nan* or "Introduction to the Shu-King," Han ying in his "Introduction to the Shi-King, &c.,"⁸ and of the fourth century A.D., but only as having appeared at the Chinese Court in the sixth year of the regency of the Duke of Tchou, *i.e.* 1034 B.C.⁹ Nothing is said of an arrival of Yueh-tehang envoys as early as the time of Yao, who was not more than a chieftain struggling on a small territory in the north of modern China proper, for the welfare of his follower co-immigrants, and whose legendary greatness, like that of his immediate predecessors and successors, arose in the mind of Chinese historians from the fact that they were civilized while the surrounding native tribes were not so.¹⁰ It is not an uncommon thing for the investigator in ancient Chinese history to see among the native compilers a tendency to suppose and even to admit as having happened under the rule of their early "Emperors," events enhancing the glory of their sway, and similar to those of the historical period of which they should have been the fore-shadows.¹¹ The present legend must have been concocted, and the information com-

bined, by the aforesaid Jen Fang in the sixth century, or by some other writer very little before his time. The term *K'oh ton* or "tadpole" characters, applied to the oldest Chinese characters in order to indicate that they were composed of strokes, which, like the tadpole, were thin at one end and thick at the other, was used for the first time by K'ung ngan Kwoh about 150 B.C.¹² And the country of Yueh-tehang is known to have been the region now covered by the provinces of Nghê-An, Thuan-hoa and Quang-nam of Tung-King.¹³

As to the fact of the writing on the tortoise, which has been injudiciously combined with this legend, and about which there are several accounts connected with the beginnings of the writing among the Chinese, it does really refer to the cuneiform writing which, as I have discovered, was known and used by the leaders of the Chinese Bak tribes previously to their migration to the East, where they carried it, about 2250 B.C.¹⁴ We shall examine these traditions in a future article of the B. and O. R.

Very little is known of the intercourses between the Chinese and the other countries in ancient times,¹⁵ for the simple reasons that the Chinese States were rather unimportant, and that the relations, chiefly commercial, have taken place with the semi-Chinese

8. Prof. James Legge has collected those texts in his *Chinese Classics*, vol. iii., pp. 535.

9. According to the chronology of the *Annals of the Bamboo Books*, or *Tchuh Shu K'i nien*, Tch'eng Wang, 10th year.

10. Cf. my work just issued, *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, sec. 13-19, and 187-208.

11. Cf. T. de L., *The Old Numerals, the Counting Rods, and the Swan-pan in China*, p. 1; *Paper Money of the IXth Century*, p. 4.

12. Cf. *Tai ping yü lun*, Bk. 747, f. 2.—*K'ang-hi Tze-tien*, s. v. 142-9, 115-4.

13. Cf. the official geography of Annam, published in 1829; *Hoang viet dia du chi*, vol. I., ff. 1, 9; vol. II., f. 31; and my *Beginnings of Writing*, sec. 44.

14. Cf. my resumé, *Babylonia and China, Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization*, in B. and O. R. for June, pp. 113-115.

15. Prof. T. K. C. refers, as a proof of such ancient relations, to the finding of Chinese porcelain ware in Egyptian Thebes, as if this archeological puzzle had not been exploded

and non-Chinese States by which they were surrounded, and which were playing the part of buffers between them and the outer world. Their annals have not been preserved, and it occurred only in a few occasions that the mercantile parties, the so-called ambassadors of foreign States, did reach the Middle Kingdom, the *Tchung Kwoh*, and that the Official Recorders could take down the notices on them which we now possess.¹⁶ Anyhow, the Hwa Hia, or Pang Kwoh (general name of the Chinese States), were too small in importance

for their name to have been carried wide and far, should their name have had any similarity, which they had not, with Chin or Tsin.¹⁷ The same remark stands good for any peculiarity of the speech of its inhabitants, like that which has been advocated to, as mentioned below, should the wanted peculiarity have existed, which it did not, as we shall see directly.

III.

The opinion adopted by Prof. T. K. Cheyne* is, that travellers may have taken for the own name of the Chinese the word

since a long time. The snuff-bottles referred to were employed for carrying *kohl* or some perfumes. Their recent age is shown not only by the fact that the Chinese porcelain was not invented before the Christian era, but also by their inscriptions in modern cursive characters. These consist of verses from well-known poets, such as Wang Wai, who lived in the eighth century (A.D. 702-745), Unnamed (A.D. 831-837), Wei Ying-wuh (A.D. 702-795), Su Tung-po (A.D. 1068-1085), &c. The age and origin of these bottles has excited much inquiry, and as the late Wells Williams has remarked (*The Middle Kingdom*, rev. ed., vol. II., p. 28), the weight of evidence points to their having been taken to Egypt and Arabia by the Arabs who traded at Canton and Hang-Chou down to the end of the Sung dynasty in 1278—(cf. *Transactions of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1852, pp. 34-40; 1854, p. 93; Stanislas Julien, *Histoire de la Porcelaine Chinoise*, pp. xi.—xxii. This proof, however, is good for seven and eight centuries past, and therefore is better than the finding of Chinese seals in Ireland, which was advocated by some (not by Prof. T. K.) as a proof of an ancient trade of the Phenicians with China and Ireland! (Cf. Edmund Getty, *Notices of Chinese Seals found in Ireland*, Dublin, 1850; J. R. W., *Chinese Porcelain Seals found in Ireland*, Notes and Queries on China and Japan, Sept., 1868, p. 141). They have come to a prosaic end, being simply some sort of premium imported from China, given to their purchasers by a firm in silk goods in the last century at Dublin, and therefore spread all over the country. (Cf. William Lockhart in *The Phoenix*, February, 1872, p. 132, and J. F. G. Lamprey, *ibid.* March, 1872, p. 152).

16. Some available information and possible inferences on the matter have been collected by me in a special paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society, 16th June, 1884, on such of these mercantile parties which came from the south: *Three Embassies from Indo-China to the Middle Kingdom, and the Trade Routes thither 3000 years ago*. Cf. my *Beginnings of Writing*, II., 156, b, n.

17. The names of the Chinese agglomeration previous to the foundation of the Empire 221 B.C., from which time it has been called by the name of the Ruling dynasty, or simply *Tchung-Kwoh*, were the following:—*Hia*, "large," or *Hwa*, "flowery," or both *Hwa Hia*; or *Wan Kwoh*, "all the States"; or *Pang Kwoh*, "the Kingdoms and States." *Tchung Kwoh*, or Middle Kingdom, was then specially applied to one State, that of *Tchou*, which, during the dynasty of this name, was depository of the traditional authority. The people were called *Kwoh Kia*, "families of the Kingdom"; an individual, *Kwoh jen*, "man of the Kingdom." Cf. the *Shu King*, *Shi-King*, *Tchun Tsin* and *Tso tchuen*, *passim*.

* *The Land of the Sinim*, appendix pp. 20-23, vol. II., 3rd edit. of *The Prophecies of Isaiah* (London, 1884).—Prof. C. J. Bredenkamp, *Der Prophet Jesaia* (Erlangen, 1887, 3rd part), p. 281, commenting on the Sinim, favours their identification with the Chinese.

for "man," *sjén*, not nearly *chín*, which they are supposed to have made use of frequently, as they still do now, to describe persons according to certain qualities or occupation, and their county or locality. The first objection to be made, which is, I am afraid, altogether fatal to this ingenious suggestion is, that the aforesaid word in its form of *jen* (French *j*), also transcribed *žin* or *sjín*, and altogether different from *chín* or *sin*, is recent, and was formerly pronounced quite otherwise, as shown by overwhelming evidence.

Therefore the solution depends upon the ancient sound of the Chinese 人 "man," in modern Mandarin *jen*.¹⁸ There are several means of ascertaining the archaic phonetic form of a word in Chinese as in any other language, and these means are those which are indicated by the principles of historical and comparative philology in general. Four kinds of these means may be successively and successfully employed.

1.—*Historical Documents*. In the case of the Chinese, written as it is now with ideograms, or with ideo-phonetic symbols (the latter composed of a silent ideogram and a symbol taken exclusively for its phonetic value) the sounds cannot be ascertained, as they can be in languages written with an alphabetic or syllabic writing. Even in the case of the ideo-phonetic compounds, the

indication which can be derived from their phonetic element does not go beyond the time of the formation of the compound character itself, and therefore is limited to the proper sound, altered or not, of the phonetic, at the time and in the dialectal region, when and where it was made.¹⁹ In the present case, however, there is no such a difficulty to deal with, as the symbol *jen* is not a compound, but a single character. It is a happy circumstance that the Chinese in their worship-like respect for all that concerns their written characters, have preserved with their *fan-tsieh* process of notation²⁰ the sounds attached to them, from the centuries following the Christian era, downwards. In the *T'ang yün* dictionary of the T'ang dynasty, by Sun-mien, compiled A.D. 676—679 in Honan, and based upon two works of the previous century, the sound of the symbol, now read *jen*, is transcribed 如 聲 切, which, in modern standard Chinese, would be "JU LIN cut off."²¹ But this reading is worthless unless it be rectified into the reading of the period when the transcription was made. And this rectification cannot be obtained otherwise than by a series of circumstantial evidence, the chief authority being the archaic dialects according to their chronological branching off from the common stock.²² The corresponding dialects

18. In Wells Williams' *Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, p. 286, this now is written *zhän* in Pekinese and *jän* in Mandarin dialect.

19. The neglect of these principles has misled the sinologists who have built speculations on the old Chinese sounds, picked up without discrimination. Cf. my book *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, sec. 57 n.

20. Chinese scholars, acting apparently at the suggestion of some ingenious Buddhist monk, then numerous among them, adopted this curious system, which consists in indicating the sound of a word by the initial of one and the final of another. Cf. my *Beginnings of Writing*, I, sec. 55, n. The name *fan-tsieh*, from *fan*, "to turn back," and *tsieh*, "to rub," form an appropriate hazy designation, says rightly T. Watters, in his *Essays on the Chinese Language*, ch. iii.

21. *K'ang-hu-tze-tien*, s. v.

22. For the chronological arrangement of the Chinese dialects, cf. my book on *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, sec. 205.

in this case would be those of Amoy and Fuhtchou, should not the symbol 如 be one of those whose sound²³ has been altered similarly to that of 人, and therefore any information derived from these would be begging the question. In the Wentchou and Kuatchou dialects of Tchehkiang, which in the XIIIth century, had still preserved some archaic sounds,²⁴ the above 如 was read *ni* and *nu*, thus showing the old initial *n* to have been also that of the ancient sound of 人. We shall have to come again to the dialectal information for further demonstration of this point. In the dictionary called *She-ming*, of which I have spoken in my former article,²⁵ compiled in the second century of our era, and where the sounds are given by homonymous symbols, we find 人 = 入, the latter in its turn being explained by 忍. Now, in the Sinico-Annamite dialect, which has preserved the sounds of the period²⁶ with only a slight alteration, these three symbols are read respectively²⁷ *nhou*, *nhan*, and *nhan*,²⁸ a uniformity which goes far as a demonstration of its accuracy.

This information, however, does not go back to times sufficiently remote, and therefore might leave some doubts in the mind of some of our readers. They might object

that the *ni* initial of the Ts'in and Han periods, onward, might be a temporary phonetic equivalence of a former *j*, though the line of alteration and decay in sounds runs in the opposite direction. But the Chinese have preserved unconsciously, in the oldest forms of their written characters, at least in some of them, the means of ascertaining the old sound of their words. In many of these oldest forms, either genuinely primitive so far as the Chinese go, or imitated in later though olden times from the primitive forms, the sounds are indicated by a rough process of acrology and syllabism.²⁹ And this process was casually used instead of the ideographic symbols of the words. "Man," written ideographically 人, was also written phonetically. In the MS. copies of the *Tao teh King* of Lao-tze,³⁰ purporting to be exact copies of the work of the founder of Taoism, as written by his disciples, the spelling of the words ought to be looked upon as a trustworthy representative of the genuine traditions of orthoepy, inasmuch as Lao-tze was Keeper of the Royal Archives at Loh about the close of the VIth century B.C. Now we see that Lao-tze or his disciples wrote the word for "man" 人 with two symbols 人, one over the other, and intended

23. At Amoy it is read *ju*.

24. Tai T'ung, *Luh Shu Ku*; *The six scripts*, transl. L. O. Hopkins (Amoy, 1881),

p. 57. Tai T'ung, whose authority is here quoted, lived in the XIIIth century.

25. Bab. and Or. R., p. 46 b.

26. Cf. *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, sec. 92, 205.

27. P. Legrand de la Liraye, *Pronunciation figurée des caracteres Chinois en Mandarin Annamite* (Saigou, 1876, fol.) s. v.

28. In the *chu quoc ngu*, i.e., the Roman transcription adopted in Annam by the early European missionaries, the *nh* represents *nie*. Cf. G. Aubaret, *Grammaire Annamite*, p. 10.

29. I have been the first to point out this peculiar feature of the oldest Ku-wen characters, framed in accordance with the traditions brought by the early leaders of the Chinese tribes as a necessary accompaniment of the art of writing in Babylonian characters, which they had learned in S.W. Asia, previously to their migration to the Far-East. Cf. my papers *On the History of the Archaic Chinese Writing and Texts*, p. 4; *The Oldest Book of the Chinese and its Authors*, sec. 23 (London, 1882).

30. Cf. Min Ts'i-kih, *Luh shu t'ung*, Bk. II., f. 16.

as usual to suggest the initial and final sounds of the word; the upper character representing the final. This same spelling occurs also in several inscriptions³¹; and in a *Ki-tze*, i.e., a variant of spelling which does not occur in the official books,³² the lower character is 人 *nip*³³ (now *ju*), the ancient initial nasal of which has never been, and cannot be, doubted. Therefore, as the final nasal of the old word for "man" is well ascertained by its permanence through all the dialectal and archaic varieties, as well as by the rhymes of ancient poetry,³⁴ there is no room left for doubting that the oldest known initial of the modern word *jen*, "man," was an *n* (or its immediate substitute occasionally written for it, viz., *l*). All this indicating a word like *nen* or *len*, *nan* or *lan*. We shall now examine the second class of proofs.

2.—*Dialectal Archaisms*. This proof results from the fact, well ascertained in comparative philology, that dialects being exposed to surrounding circumstances different in character to those which have dominated the wear and tear and the evolution of the sister languages, are thus far enabled to preserve old sounds and forms of speech unaltered, or altered in a different direction, and therefore easily ascertainable by inter-comparison. With reference to the Chinese dialects in the case

of the modern Mandarin *jen*, "man," we see by the Cantonese form *yan* that this dialect, in the course of its alteration, has run there near the path of the standard language. But the forms *niang* at Shanghai, *lang* at Amoy, *neng* at Fuhthou, confirmed by the Sinico-Annamite³⁵ *nhon* and the diverged form *ren* in Gyami or dialect of W. Szetchuen, leave no doubt that the old form was *nen* or *len*, *nan* or *lan*, thus agreeing with the indication obtained through the first order of proofs.

3.—*Loaned words in ancient times* These occurred chiefly with the Japanese and the Shan-Siamese languages. The formation of the nucleus of the latter family has taken place in historical times within the modern boundaries of China proper,³⁶ and therefore is a highly-interesting and favourable circumstance for the history of the loan words. In the various dialects, *Shan*, *Siamese*, *Ahom*, *Khamti*, *Laos*, &c., the word for "man" is *Kon* or *K'on* and *Kun* or *K'un*, which finds no cognates in the other languages of the great linguistical stock, the Indo-Pacific, to which they belong. As a rule, the L initial of the Chinese words borrowed by the Tai-Shans has become among them an initial K, and therefore the *Kon* or *Kun* above, being loan words, suggest an original *lon* or *l'un*, which are sufficiently near to the form *lan* or *nan*

31. Such as the *Yun tai pei*, the *Pi-loh pei*, etc., *ibid*.

32. Also in Min Ts'i-kih, l. c.

33. Sinico-Annamite *nhap*. In Ku-wen spelling, it was written 人 *nip*, placed under 人 *pat*. Cf. *ibid*. X., 25 v.; and Tung Wei Fu, *Tchuen tse Wei*, s. v. Cf. Dr. J. Edkins, *Introduction to the Study of the Chinese Characters*, p. 5.

34. Cf. the lists drawn by Dr. J. Chalmers, in his valuable paper on *The Rhymes of the Shi-King* (China Review, 1877, vol. VI).

35. The respective dates ascribed in a general way for the branching off of these various dialects are the following:—Sinico-Annamite, 200 B.C.; Amoy, 600 A.D.; Fuhthou, Shanghai, between 600-1300 A.D. Cf. my *General Historical Scheme of the Chinese Family of Languages*, sec. 205 of *The Languages of China before the Chinese* (London, 1887).

36. Cf. my paper *The Cradle of the Shan Race*, introduction to A. R. Colquhoun's *Amongst the Shans* (London, 1885); and *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, sees 96, 126, and 221.

of ancient Chinese to permit our concluding that they all represent one and the same original word.

In Japan the knowledge of Chinese characters was carried in the third century of our era with the sounds in use at the time in the State of Wu (A.D. 222—280), the western of the three contemporary States between which the Empire of the Han dynasty had been separated. In this pronunciation, known in Japan as the *Go-on*, or sounds of Go, *i.e.*, Wu or Ngu, *nin* is the sound attributed to the symbol for "man," therefore agreeing with the indication obtained from the other sources.

4.—*Words of common descent in cognate languages.* The very remote time of the severance of the Chinese from the Turano-Scythian original nucleus, and its starting of its own course of evolution, makes this order of proofs difficult. However, we are still enabled to point out a few related words, though only among distant languages. It is not at all unlikely that the Accadian *nun*, "lord or master," is the oldest instance of the word we are just studying. Coming eastwards, we find in Brahui a language of the Dravidian family left behind, *narina*, "man." In several Tibeto-Burmese tongues we remark in Dhimal: *diang*, Namsang Naga:—*nyan*, in Khyeng—*lang*, all meaning "man," and obviously connected with the Chinese *nan* or *lan*.

The perusal of the four class of proofs, long and fastidious as it proved to be, must have dispelled in the mind of our readers all possible derivation in ancient times of an appellative "sjin" or "chin" from a common word of the language which was pronounced *nen* or *len*.

IV.

I have thus far shown reasons to reject the two most important explanations which had been put forward for the Sinim as being the Chinese; and I need not abandon the question without mentioning that the

names of two other States of the Chinese agglomeration, under the rule of the Tchou dynasty (150—249 B.C.), have been quoted rather injudiciously by some writers as probable antecedents to the name of China. In case that these other names, hitherto unmentioned by us, should be dragged into the question by someone unaware that the suggestion would be worthless, we had better to dispose of them here. One, that of *Tch'en*, in Honan, was one of the smaller of the States which came to an end in 477 B.C. The symbol of its name is now read *trán* in Sinico-Annamite. The other principality, of which the name has been quoted, is that of *Shen* (now read *'an* in Sinics-Annamite), was insignificant and hardly worth mentioning, as it was suppressed in 688 B.C. Both of them had no political nor numerical importance; they were encircled in other States, had no possible intercourse with the outside, and must be left altogether out of the question at issue, on which they cannot have exercised any influence whatever.

V.

These last remarks ought to conclude the series of criticisms which, we hope, will put an end to any speculation tending to assimilate the name of Sinim with that of the Chinese. They leave untouched the constructive part of my paper on *The Sinim of Isaiah, not the Chinese*, where I have attempted to show that the Sinim were the Shinas of the Hindu-Kush, whose name, as that of a most distant country, had reached Babylon when that part of the Book of Isaiah was written.

I do not feel myself competent to go further, and answer the question of Prof. T. K. Cheyne: "Were Israelites among the Shinas of the Hindu-Kush?" otherwise than by remarking that the ruling tribes of the Afghans of the present day claim, with the same sort of possibility, a Jewish descent. I shall not make it my business to enquire

strong when a scholar will not recognise the work of another, which he is incapable of doing himself. The writer believes, therefore, that those who are best in position to understand the words of this preface, will quite agree with its author.

In the prospectus of this work we are

promised complete lists of words at the close of the last part, which will be of great importance and advantage to students. We welcome, therefore, this work as one of the most valuable publications of Assyrian texts,

FORTHCOMING PAPERS.—Arthur Amundson: The Countries of Magan and Meluhha; E. Colborne Baber: Assyrian and Chinese Gates; Prof. Dr. S. Beal: Krishna and the Solar Myths; Fragments of a life of the Buddha (*P'u yao King*); W. St. C. Boscawen: Inscriptions relating to Belshazzar; A Royal Title of Nabonidus; Prof. Harwig Derenbourg: Yemen Inscriptions (continued); Prof. Dr. C. de Harlez: A Nomenclature of Buddhist Terms; The Deities of the Indo-Scythian Coins; Joseph Jacobs: The Nethinim, a Biblical Study; Prof. N. Kondakoff: New Archaeological Discoveries at Tashkent; Prof. Dr. T. de Lacouperie: Bactro Chinese Coins; Tattooing; Shifted Cardinal Points in Baby-

lonia and China; Prof. Dr. J. Oppert: A Juridic Cuneiform Text; W. M. Flinders Petrie: A Royal Egyptian Cylinder with figures; Theo. G. Pinches: Sumer and Akkad; Akkadian Etymologies; A Babylonian Dower Contract; Prof. E. Revillout: On a so called Hittite Seal from Tarsus; The Babylonian Istar Taribi; A Contract of Apprenticeship from Sippara; Prof. E. Revillout and Dr. V. Revillout: Sworn Obligations in Babylonian Law; Prof. Dr. A. H. Sayce: New Phoenician and Israelitish Inscriptions; was Jareb the Original Name of Sargon? Dr. H. G. Tomkins: Geography of Northern Syria viewed from the Assyrian side; T. Tyler: On the Hittite Inscription of the Yuzgat Seal.

THE
BABYLONIAN AND ORIENTAL RECORD.

The Editorial Committee is not responsible for the opinions or statements of the Contributors.

As this number closes our first year's issue, we take this opportunity to thank our Contributors and Subscribers for their forbearance as to the shortcomings inseparable from the starting of a Magazine like this, established on cheap lines, and yet publishing every month papers of high scientific and philological value.

The large promises of help received from many of our Contributors are a sure index that the RECORD will become increasingly important and attractive to all those who are interested in Oriental research.

We trust that the medium provided by this Magazine, through its appearance every month will be more and more generally recognised, appreciated and utilized than hitherto; and that our Subscribers will help us to make our undertaking a complete success.

The RECORD will henceforth contain 24 octavo pages; and, with illustrations and improved typography, will appear in a more convenient form, without any change in price.

EDIT.

NEW PHœNICIAN & ISRAELITISH INSCRIPTIONS.

THE Phœnician *graffito* discovered by Mr. Flinders Petrie at Silsileh, last winter, is very interesting, not only on account of its clearness and completeness, but still more on account of its contents. The forms of the characters would refer it to the 5th (or possibly the 6th) century B.C. They resemble those found on the coins of the Persian satrapies, with the exception of the *yod* and *kaph*, which preserve the archaic forms of the Abu-Simbel letters. I read the inscription as follows:—
בדכא הגה לאסי
“Bodkâ has cried to Isis.” The words הגה and אסי are new, but the spelling of the name of Isis with *samech* is conformable to the spelling of the name of Osiris with the same letter. In Hebrew, the verb הגה is used not only of “addressing” a person, but also of “singing praise” (Ps. xxxv. 28, lxxi. 24); its proper signification, however, is that of “uttering

a cry of mourning,” as in Ps. xvi. 7, Jer. xlvi. 31. This, I believe, is its meaning in Mr. Petrie's inscription, where a reference is made to the rites of mourning, associated with the worship of Isis. As for the proper name בדכא *br* is a well-known contraction of עבר in later Phœnician, and the analogy of names like Bod-Ashtoreth, “the servant of Ashtoreth,” would indicate that כא must be the name of some deity. A Phœnician deity with such a name is, however, unknown, and I can therefore only conjecture that the name may represent the Egyptian *ka* or “double.”

The inscription seems to imply the existence of a chapel or altar dedicated to Isis in the place where it was found.

The two seals belonging to Dr. Grant Bey of Cairo, are of still greater interest than the Phœnician inscription. The double lines between which the letters are

placed, characterize inscriptions on gems of Israelitish origin, and, I may also add, of Moabite origin, since a gem reading יהי לכמש — “belonging to Chemosh-yekhi,” with the winged solar disk and symbol of Asherah above, is characterised in the same way (De Vogüé: “Mélanges d’Archéologie orientale,” p. 89). That the larger inscription on Dr. Grant’s gems is Israelitish is further shown by its contents. It reads אמץ הספר “Amoz the scribe.” The occurrence of the Hebrew article is noticeable, as well as that of a name which was borne by the father of Isaiah. So also is the upright line which denotes the end of the text, and reminds us of the points by which the words are divided on the Moabite Stone and in the Siloam inscription. The characters, however, are rather those found in the Aramæan docketts attached to Assyrian contract-tables of the 8th and 9th centuries B.C., than those belonging to the Judæan alphabet of which the Siloam inscription affords us the oldest known example. It is only the *mem* with its rounded tail that claims affinity with the latter, and bears witness to an alphabet which was used for writing upon papyrus or parchment and not upon stone. The *tsaddé*, too, is somewhat more like that of Siloam than that of the Aramæan docketts, and the same may be said of the *resh* with its upright stem. But the *samech* is that of the Aramæan docketts of the 7th century,

and we may accordingly consider the seal to have been made for an Israelitish exile in Nineveh in the line of Sennacherib or Esarhaddon. Other Israelitish seals of the same age and locality have already informed us that some at least of the Israelitish exiles had conformed to the prevailing Sun-worship; the same fact is indicated by the seal of Amoz, with the winged solar disk above an altar, on one side of which stands a priest with flounced dress, while the owner of the seal stands on the other side.

The second seal may have belonged to a worshipper of Yahveh; at all events there are no pagan symbols upon it. The open *beth* shows that it must be assigned to a little later period than the other, though the *mem* has the same form. It reads למבכה “belonging to M(a)b(a)kh.” I cannot vocalize the name, as I do not know to what root it can be referred, or even indeed whether it is Semitic at all. It can hardly represent either Mabbikh “he who causes to bark, or Mubbakh “he who is made to bark.”

A. H. SAYCE.

The Phœnician *graffito* is on the sandstone cliffs of the Nile, about four miles N. of Silsileh, on the W. side, along with numberless Egyptian *graffiti*: it is partly hidden by a fallen block. The seals Dr. Grant kindly allowed me to take some time since: they were purchased by him in Cairo.

W. M. F. PETRIE.



YEMEN INSCRIPTIONS.—THE GLASER COLLECTION.

(Concluded from p. 180).

XIII.

GLASER, 294.

Stone broken in three pieces, brought from Ma'in. It is the original of Halévy, 194. We read there, in the Minean dialect:

י ו ח פ) א ל י ו פ ח א י ו 1

י ו ח פ) א ל י ו פ ח א י ו 2

Hebrew Transcription:

לִי סִבְחָה | נִכְרַח | בְּעֵל 1

לִוְהַתִּי | חֹלֶת | דָּן | 2

Partial Translation:

- 1 In order that he . . . Nakrah, master of
- 2 for these this [statue

Line 1. The root בחר, although frequent enough in the Yemenite texts (מבחר, proper name בחרם), remains obscure.—The god נכרח was adored by the Ma'imites: see Hal. 191, l. 2: 192, l. 1: 199, l. 2: &c., and the following inscription (Glaser, 295).—Line 2. The form והתי may probably be a demonstrative pronoun analogous to the Ethiopian pronouns.—After דן, I suggest צלמן "statue".

XIV.

GLASER, 295.

A small fragment, also coming from Ma'in. This is the text of the inscription:

... י ו ח פ) א ל י ו פ ח א י ו 1

... י ו ח פ) א ל י ו פ ח א י ו 2

Hebrew Transcription:

... ע מִידַע | בֵּן | ע 1

... נִכְרַח 2

Translation:

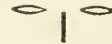
- 1 'Amyada', son of 'A
- 2 to Nakra[h]

Line 1. עמידע: cf. Hal. 187, l. 1; 188, l. 3; 520, l. 1.—Line 2. On the worship of Nakrah at Ma'in, see the preceding inscription.

XV.

GLASER 296.

Funereal stela, coming from Ma'in. It bears:



י ו ח פ) א ל י ו פ ח א י ו

י ו ח פ) א ל י ו פ ח א י ו

Hebrew Transcription:

וְהַב

דַּעַר

The two ellipses placed at the top represent eyes, as on the Egyptian inscriptions; see the inscription XXI and *Corp. insc. Sem., pars quarta*, p. 50.—The theophore apocopated proper name ורהב is already found in Os. 19, l. 1.—I read next רור "that of Wadd", and I compare בנור Hal. 577, l. 1 and 2; סעורר Hal. 221, l. 2; see Mordtmann und Müller, *Sabäische Denkmäler*, p. 69.

XVI.

GLASER, 297.

This inscription, in the Minean dialect, comes from As-Saudâ. This is its tenor:

י ו ח פ) א ל י ו פ ח א י ו 1

י ו ח פ) א ל י ו פ ח א י ו 2

י ו ח פ) א ל י ו פ ח א י ו 3

י ו ח פ) א ל י ו פ ח א י ו 4

י ו ח פ) א ל י ו פ ח א י ו 5

י ו ח פ) א ל י ו פ ח א י ו 6

י ו ח פ) א ל י ו פ ח א י ו 7

We submit to our learned colleagues the text of this inscription, *ut disceptatio fiat*: The opportunity will no doubt be presented for our intervening once in the debate which this curious fragment cannot fail to provoke.

XIX.

GLASER, 300.

From Sirāka, in the Djauf, like inscription XVII. This is what the stone bears:

1 | ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ | ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ .
 2 | ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀
 3 | . ׀ ׀ | ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀
 4 | ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀

Hebrew Transcription:

1 | עֲדָאֵל | בְּהַנָּה .
 2 | דָּת | צִחְפָּתָן .
 3 | ס | עֵבֶל ׀ ט .
 4 | מִבְּנֵן | ׀ .

Partial Translation:

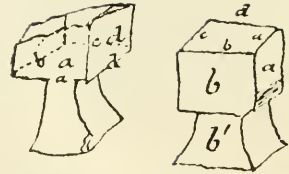
- 1 Wadad'il, son of
- 2 this plain
- 3 [to Nakrah] (?), master of (?)
- 4 [this construction

Line 1. I propose **עֲדָאֵל** after Hal. 44, l. 1; 188, l. 1; 416, l. 1; 567: see however, **עֲדָאֵל** Hal. 51, l. 2.—Line 2. **צִחְפָּתָן**: see above inscription I, l. 10.—Line 3. Perhaps **נִכְרָתָם** | **בְּעַל**: cf. the inscription XIII, l. 1.—Line 4. **דָּן** | **מִבְּנֵן**, as in the inscription II, l. 3.

XX.

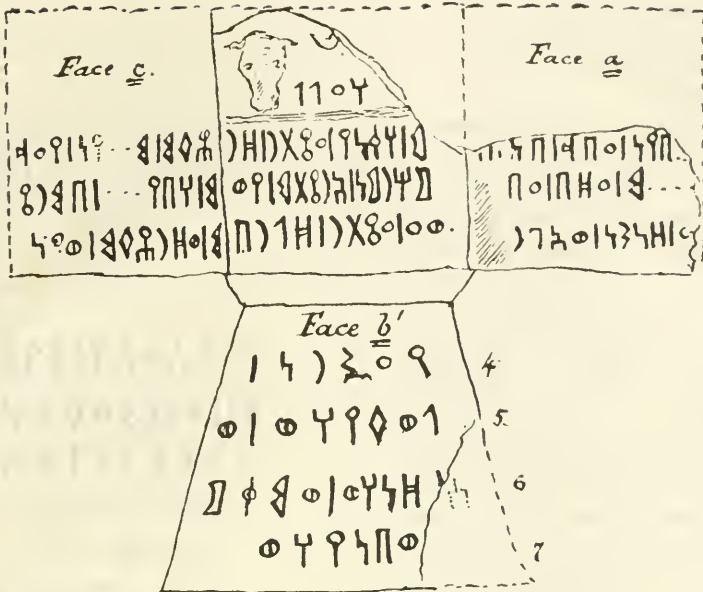
GLASER, 30'.

A little altar, coming from As-Saudā. It is what is called a *mihram* (محرّم). An other monument of the same kind is named in inscription XXIX (Glaser, 334, l. 6) a **מִפְּחָם**. The two conjoined figures, which M. Glaser has kindly drawn for my purpose, will give an idea of the cutting of the stones:



M. Ed. Glaser has furnished me with the following descriptive commentary: "The faces *a*, *b*, and *c* have inscriptions, also *b'*, *d* being anepigraphic. The inscription commences upon the face *a*, and continues on the faces *b* and *c*." M. Ed. Glaser adds, and we produce his opinion, without being in a condition to verify its degree of correctness: "As to **דִּרְעָם**, which I hold to be identical with the Biblical place **רִצְפָּה**, mentioned with **עֲדָן** and **עֲדָן** as submitted to the Assyrian Kingdom, do not fail to refer to my conference, *Ueber meine Reise in Arabien*, (Wien, 1887), p. 13 and 14. **לִיִּץ** = *Hirân* and **לִיִּץ** = *Aden* were therefore at that time, like the greatest part of southern Arabia, under Assyrian domination, which is besides shown by the inscription of Sargon, according to which Ithamara the Sabean () **לִיִּץ** paid tribute to Assyria." The diagram on the next page groups the faces which bear some characters:

M. Glaser has accompanied this very characteristic drawing by the following notices: "The face *b* bore evidently two bull's heads symmetrically arranged.—The word **לִיִּץ** appears to correspond to the Arabic **لِيي**.—The obscure word of the first line of *c* appears to be **לִיִּץ**, or **לִיִּץ** or **לִיִּץ**, that is to say **מִחְרָמֵן**, or **מִחְרָמֵן**, or **מִחְרָמֵן**.—The word on the face *a*, which comes after **לִיִּץ**, appears to be **לִיִּץ**.—In line 3 of the face *b*, **לִיִּץ** (certainly not *Lirâb*) must evidently be read **עֲתָרָה** | **דְּגֵרְבָם**. The *Kitâb al-iklîl* knows this place, which it calls **ذو جراب**. From the position of this



place it might be concluded that $\diamond \circ \text{m}$ (רצה) was likewise in the Djanf, a "short distance" from As-Saudá. The Assyrians dominated at that time in the region from Hírrán up towards Ma'rib, as well as in the port of Aden."

Here is the Hebrew transcription of this Himyaritic text :

c.	b.	a.	
	העלל		
צפם מ... ין יעד ?	ם הקני עתתר דר	... בין עבד בנ ...	1
ם הבי... במרת	מיהרמן ארתתן יו	וב... עלב ...	2
ם דרצפם וין ?	וע עתתר דלרב	דנשן ואבש... ? ?	3
	יעשרן		4
	לופיהו		5
	אדנהו ומקמ ?		6
	ובניהו ..		7

Provisional Translation :

- 1 Bayyin, servant of the Banoñ has consecrated to 'Athtar of Raşaf, the construction (?) Ya'ouñd.
- 2 [and] 'Adhab, ... [and]... the temple of the sanctuary Arthat, in the day when by reason of the obla--
- 3 [tion] 'Athar of Djirâb, and of Raşaf, and

Translation :

1 H]auf'athat, and Youba'in, and Wahb . .
2 and Nascha['karib, and Rams, and 'A . .

Line 1. Read הופעתת, as in the in-
scription XXII, l. 2.— יהען, see, above, the
nscription X. l. 3.—Line 2. I have com-
pleted ונשא[כרב, perhaps אנרב[דר.—
For רמסס, this name recalls to M. Glaser the

رسليون of Al-Hamlâni.


XXIV

GLASER. 308.

A sort of head, perhaps that of an idol",
M. Glaser writes me, "perhaps also a fune-
real monument, bearing the proper name
1 2 3 4 5
רַתְּדָאֵל, Rathad'il."

XXV.

GLASER. 308.

A sort of head of Janus an idol with the
singular inscription  which we re-
produce without trying to explain it. M.
Glaser informs us that such idols appear to
be still worshipped at this day in certain
regions of Tihâma.

XXVI.


GLASER, 309.

Inscription coming from As-Saudâ, identi-
cal with the inscription 512 of Joseph Hal-
évy. The text given by M. Ed. Glaser is
on next column :

As for the inscription XVIII., I content
myself with giving this text under its rectified
form, reserving it for further consideration at
an early opportunity.

XXVII

GLASER, 323.

Brought from As-Saudâ. A little animal,
a sheep or ram, which bears the letter ,
evidently an abbreviation. Of what word, I
cannot tell.

XXVIII,

GLASER, 333.

Stone brought from Barikisch, on which
we read (at foot of next column) :

Provisional Translation:

- [N . . . , son of has]
- 1 vowed to 'Athtar, [of]
- 2 Youharik, the palm-trees [of Ma-
- 3 dhab. He who

1 2 3 4 5
חפעתת יהען ונשא[כרב רמסס
רַתְּדָאֵל
אנרב[דר
רמסס
חפעתת יהען ונשא[כרב רמסס
רַתְּדָאֵל
אנרב[דר
רמסס
חפעתת יהען ונשא[כרב רמסס
רַתְּדָאֵל
אנרב[דר
רמסס

Hebrew Transcription :

1 הב | ד | מרס | ותמנמ | בתע | או | סבר | ותמרס | החלי | ועת
2 ומדהר | רצום | דבתן | דתן | ביבהת | לביתן | קדמן | תני | תמני |
3 מל . . . עד . . . רצן | עמש | וארבעת | השף | ול | יסתחן | ומתן | יסתר
4 ד | כד | ביתן | וכ | בעל | לידבת | פק | כלסס | וכל | מדהר | ו .
5 מוססס | ס | בעל | ל | לידבתס | וסאר | תמני | כסס | חניס |

1 X8068X
2 1451629
3 49H1K2H

Hebrew Transcription :

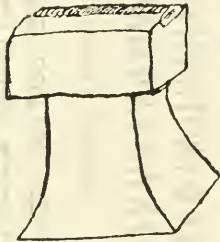
1 תרק | עתת
2 יהרק | נהל
3 דאב | ליד

Line 1. I consider תתק as identical with the Arabic اتتقى, the eighth form of وثق. The worship of 'Athtar Youhariq was very widespread at Barâkisch, as is proved by Hal. 424; 425, l. 2 and 3; 426, l. 1; 437, l. 1; &c.--Line 3. I have inferred palm-trees of Madhâb, by supposing the full Arabic spelling صذاب instead of the more frequent Himyaritic spelling **חח** מרב, see the inscriptions V, l. 4; XXI.--**דיר** i-p perhaps the commencement of the imprecation against plunderers.

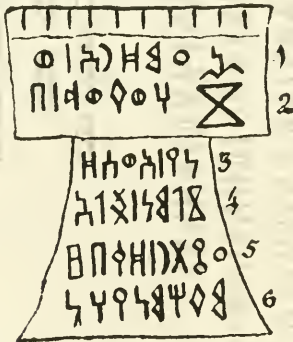
XXIX.

GLASER, 334.

The diagram reproduced beneath gives an idea of the monument which comes from Harim:



The monument bears no inscription except on the outer face, of which the following is the appearance and contents:



Hebrew Transcription :

עמדרא	1
הרפור	2
ני אוסד	3
זלמן שלא	4
עתתר לקבץ	5
מפחמניהן	6

monogram

זלמן

Translation :

- 1 'Amdharâ' and
- 2 Haufwadd, descen-
- 3 dants of Aus Dhoû-
- 4 Zalam, has consecrated
- 4 to 'Athtar Dhoû-Kabd,
- 6 two censers (?)

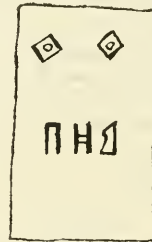
Zalam monogram

The reading of the monogram, borrowed in line 4, leaves no room for doubt. On מפחם see the opinion of M. Glaser, above, p. 198. My translation connects this word with the Arabic فحمة, وفحم "charcoal".

XXX.

GLASER, 337.

Funereal monument, analogous to our numbers XV and XXI (Glaser, 296 and 303). This stela comes from Harim:

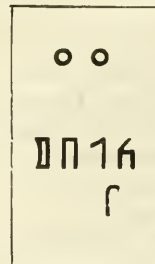


Underneath the two sepulchral eyes, we read nothing but a single word **דאטען** "Dat'an", a proper name which might well be foreign. We have perhaps to read **באטען** "the Bata-ite". This should then be the tomb of an anonymous person of the tribe of Bata', tribe, on which may be consulted Mordtmann und Müller, *Sub. Denkm.*, p. 44-46.

XXXI.

GLASER, 338.

Funereal monument, coming from Harim, like the preceding:



Underneath the two eyes, we read אַרְחָן. *כלבם*, *كَلْبُ*, *Kalb*. In the following line there is what seems the outline of a letter, of which the nature and object cannot be distinguished. The stone-cutter appears to have had the design, then to have abandoned it, of adding to the name an ethnic adjective: cf. the preceding inscription.

XXXII.

GLASER, 339.

Another tomb-stone, coming from Harin likewise, without the two eyes, and only bearing a proper name אַבְשׁוּר אֱלִיָּא. See the name as an epithet of the god מתבנשין in Hal. 148, l. 5.

XXXIII.

GLASER, 340.

A stone coming from As-Saudâ, on which we read:

1 .) 4 0 | 4 0 6 4 0 6 4 4 1
 2 ׀ 1 4 0 | 4 1 0 6 4 0 6 4 4
 3 4 0 6 4 0 6 4 0 6 4 4
 4 0 6 4 0 6 4 0 6 4 4
 5 1 4 0 6 4 0 6 4 4
 6 4 0 6 4 0 6 4 4

Hebrew Transcription:

1 הן | וקנצן | והר .
 2 בן | ור . | לה | סאלם
 3 בית | כברה | עי
 4 תעין | ובן | כר
 5 וכאי | יומה |
 6 כרה | ואס

This fragment suggests to me the following reflections: 1st, Line 1, if the series of parallel names represent towns, the last word ought to be read והרן "and Hîrrân: 2nd, line 3, I translate "the

house of the minister of Gai[man, כברה being here as in inscription 1, l. 8, and עין] being identical with the town situated five hours to the south-west of Şan'â, of which MM. Mordtmann and Müller have spoken, *Sab. Denk.*, p. 15: 3rd. line 6, I imagine אלושרחואסר; cf. the shorter name שרה which we can equally suppose here, in inscription 1, l. 8, and אסר in the same inscription, l. 1.

XXXIV.

GLASER, 341.

Inscription from Ma'in, conceived in those terms:

1 א 1 7 1 4 1
 2 0 4 0 | 0 4 0 4 0 2
 3 1 0 8 0 1 1 3

Hebrew Transcription:

1 אלוה 2
 2 סו | והב 2
 3 לא | צפ . 3

Probable Translation:

1 İldbarrîh, [and
 2 his [son], Wabb . . .
 3, has [vow]ed Daf[w

Line 1. Without knowing the full length of the line, I suggest at the end סו ובהנ] "and his [son]", or rather "and his [sons]"—
 Line 2. והב is the beginning of a proper name והב]ענתת or והב]אום: they are both conjoined in inscription 1 of the *Corp.insc. Sem., pars quarta*, p. 6.-- Line 3. I read ש' אל] as in our inscription XXIX, l. 4.— Is it convenient to suppose at the end צפ]ר, as in inscription 11, l. 5?

XXXV.

GLASER, 342.

A fragment of which M. Glaser indicates as the place from which it comes, Hasina, probably Hasina, between Ma'in and Barâkisch. This is the form and the tenor of the inscription:

will be impossible to obtain "squeezes" until the collection shall be arranged, classed, and numbered, consequently not before the end of the year. Such delays, we must always fear, may be exceeded. However ephemeral may be the usefulness

of my present decipherment, those who shall build after me upon a more certain foundation will perhaps remember him who has first broken up the ground.

HARTWIG DERENBOURG.

THE DEITIES OF THE INDO-SCYTHIC COINS.

EVERYONE will have read with lively interest the learned paper of Dr. M. A. Stein on the *Zoroastrian Deities in Indo-Scythian Coins*, and will have found it, as I have, *solus* and *suggestive*. But, to prevent some conclusions perhaps false, I may be allowed to present an observation which appears to me very important.

We are accustomed to call Avestic or Zoroastrian everything which is found in our text of the Avesta. This ought to be understood with a certain subtraction, lest things utterly different in nature and origin should be confounded.

The Avesta is not a book written at one stroke, nor composed of homogeneous parts. Far from that, we find there things even the most incongruous. Sometimes we find there the purest dualism, two eternal spirits equal in power; it is thus in two passages of the Gâthâs especially (see Yasna XXX., 1—5; XLIV., 2; LVI., 7, 6. Elsewhere it is a softened dualism, the good God is raised above the spirit of evil, and the latter will perish miserably; only the presence of Zoroaster breaks his power, &c., &c. (V. p. e. Yt. XIX. at end, Vd. XIX., 150, &c. Sometimes, also, the Avestic authors profess a nearly irreproachable

monotheism. It is thus in nearly the whole of the Gâthâs, in the Yesht of Ormazd (Yt. I), and elsewhere. Then Ahura Mazda governs the universe; the Druje, the spirit of evil, cannot undertake anything serious against him, and the most exalted heavenly spirits in power and dignity are nothing but his creatures and servants (see spec. Yt. I., 37, Westerg. XX.) On the other hand, in many passages the Avesta testifies concerning naturalistic beliefs and practices the most impeached, and, let us say it, of a true polytheism. In the first chapters of the Vispered and of the Yasna, and others besides, all material nature, and particularly fire, are the objects of a real worship, on the ground of their natural power. In a hundred passages, the ancient spirits of nature appeared with an independent nature, a power of their own, which made them veritable gods. Thus it is the worship of Haoma, and not that of Ahura Mazda, which brought to the ancient heroes the extraordinary favours, the signal victories which have made them famous. It is to Haoma that Pourushaspa should be father of Zoroaster, Haoma, Mithra, &c., give all good things, smite with all the evil, destroy the

countries which do not honour them, and that according to their fancy (V. Ys. IX., 1—43, 59, ff., the Yesht of Mithra nearly as a whole). Much more the faithful Avesta demands from these spirits—half person, half material element—even as much as the Paradise of the righteous (see Yasna IX., 64 from Haoma, Y. LXVII., 36 from Ardi Sûra, &c.) “Give to him who honours thee the perfect world of the righteous, shining with all the splendours!” Ahura Mazda then disappears completely; sometimes a “created by Mazda,” added after a stroke, makes the independent spirit re-enter in the Zoroastrian system.

This fact appears strange at first sight, but it is to be explained by an error. The collection of books and of pieces which compose our Avesta does not belong to only one school, and pure Zoroastrianism never had been in a condition to stifle entirely the ancient beliefs, the antique traditions. The worship of the spirits of nature has resisted the efforts of Zoroastrianism, and it is perpetuated in the Eran. By the side of the Zoroastrians, the partisans of myths and primitive beliefs knew how to maintain them, and a compromise

ought to be made, whether at the epoch purely Zoroastrian, or later, when the Avesta was collected.

The result is that the larger number of the spirits to whom are devoted a great many of the chapters of the Avesta, have nothing about them Zoroastrian or Avestic, properly speaking, if we take this word in the sense of sacred book of Zoroastrianism. It is specially so of Haoma and Mithra, of the sun, of the moon, of the wind, of fire, of Tishtrya, and other deities who figure on the Indo-Scythic coins. They could belong only to the Iranian religion properly speaking, to the ancient naturalist worship, and not in any way to Zoroastrianism.

What would induce me to believe this is, that these coins do not bear any trace of the Ahura Mazda cult, without whom there could be nothing Zoroastrian nor Avestic. The Indo-Scythic deities were, therefore, rather Iranian than Zoroastrian, although there might be a certain influence, a certain mingling of Avestic ideas.

I confine myself to these reflections. They could be developed much more.

C. DE HARLEZ.

BABYLONIAN ETYMOLOGIES.

THE PRONUCIATION OF THE DIVINE NAME 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣.

It has been the custom among Assyriologists to transcribe the well-known group 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 as Dibbara or Lubara, upon the ground, apparently, of W. A. I. II, pl. 25, l. 13 *gh* (= W. A. I., V., pl. 28, 111*cd*), where we find 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣

explained by 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣, *lubar* (or *dibbar*) *niluti* (or *šalluti*). The translation of these phrases is by no means certain, but there is one thing that is quite clear, and that is, that *lubar* is not given as the pronuciation of 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣

—i. dead, a glance at the 7th line above, where we have the word *lubsu*, "a garment," explained by $\text{𒌦𒍪} > \text{𒌦𒍪} \text{𒌦𒍪}$ *lubaru*, shows conclusively that this cannot be the case, for *lubar* is, naturally, the construct state of *lubaru*, and *šalluti* is in the genitive after it. The meaning of *lubar šalluti* must therefore be something like "garment of protection," "protecting dress." This being the case, it becomes, of course, needful to try to find out what the phonetic value of the group $> \text{𒌦} > \text{𒌦𒍪} \text{𒌦𒍪}$ really is.

As is well known, the common meaning of the character $> \text{𒌦}$ is *ardu* or *abdu*, "servant," and the dialectic (Sumerian) form of the equivalent word is $\text{𒌦𒍪} - \text{𒌦𒍪}$, *e-ri*. The non-dialectic form of this *eri* should, according to the laws of sound-change in these ancient tongues, give us the word *uru*, which ought to be the pronunciation of the character $> \text{𒌦}$. For this reason, amongst others, I wrote last year, in my *Zusatzbemerkungen* to S. A. Smith's *Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals*, Heft 1., p. 110 : Meines Erachtens sind die Zeichen *an-ur-ra* nicht *Lubara*, sondern einfach *Urra* oder *Ura* zu lesen."

My conjecture is now turned to certainty by a fragment of a list of gods, which gives the very group which has been so strangely mistranscribed. In this text we find the group $> \text{𒌦} > \text{𒌦𒍪} \text{𒌦𒍪}$, written with the gloss 𒌦𒍪 close to the character $> \text{𒌦}$ thus showing that its pronunciation was *ir*. This *Ira* (for so we must, in this case, read the group $> \text{𒌦} > \text{𒌦𒍪} \text{𒌦𒍪}$) is probably either the dialectic form of the name, or else indicates that the word was, in Akkadian, to be pronounced *Ūra* (with modified *u*, as is sometimes found). With regard to *lubaru*, this word has a most interesting variant, namely,

𒌦 , *šu*, for 𒌦𒍪 , *ru* in line 14 *ab* of the same plate — a variation which naturally raises the question whether we have not here an example of the interchange between *š* and *r*, which we find in the words *irdudu* for *isidudu*, *martakal* for *maštakal*, *irtanū* for *istanū* (W. A. I. V. 31, l. 40 *ef*); *murpalu* for *mušpalu* (Prof. Sayce), and probably other words.

Besides the simple *Ira* or *Ura*, the divine names *Ira-gal*, *Ira-kalkal*, &c., are also found.

$> \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦𒍪} > \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦𒍪} > \text{𒌦}$.

This word, as is well known from W. A. I. V. pl. 46, l. 42, is not to be read *Ni-batani*, but *muštabarrā mātānu*, and translated "the foreboder of deaths." The tablet Rm 2. 38 gives the variant $> \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦𒍪} > \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦𒍪}$ (*muštabarrā mātāni*), with the genitive case after the verbal noun *muštabarrā* ($> \text{𒌦}$). As *-anu* or *-ani* is only the phonetic complement in Semitic Babylonian, the Akkadian portion of the phrase is $> \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦𒍪} > \text{𒌦}$, which, if ever used by the Akkadians, in this form, probably had the pronunciation of *Ni-bada*.

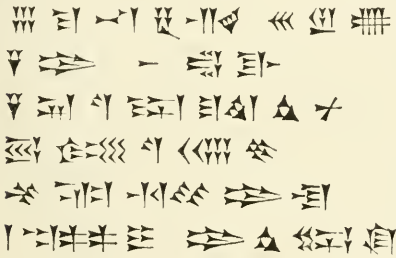
$> \text{𒌦} > \text{𒌦𒍪} \text{𒌦𒍪}$, KIKIDA OR KIKIDA.

The above Akkadian group seems to have been pronounced *kikida*. It was taken into Assyrian under the form $> \text{𒌦} > \text{𒌦𒍪} \text{𒌦𒍪}$ 𒌦𒍪 *kikittū*, and the oblique case (or plural) in *ē*, $> \text{𒌦} > \text{𒌦𒍪} > \text{𒌦}$ 𒌦𒍪 (variant $< \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦𒍪} < \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦𒍪}$ *kikittē*) also occurs. (W. A. I. V., 47, Obv. 38 and 39). Synonyms are *nēpišu* and *ēpsetu*, "deed." It is not unlikely that the original form of the word was *kikkida*, for *kikida*, a reduplicate from the root *kil*.

THEO. G. PINCHES.

A ROYAL TITHE OF NABONIDUS.

Among the inscriptions obtained by Mr. Rassam from Aboo-Hubba is one of special interest, which appears to record the royal tithe or dues presented by Nabonidus to the temple of the Sun-god at Sippara, on his accession to the throne in B. C. 556. The earliest date in the reign of Nabonidus is the 18th day of the month Sivan, (Stras. Nabn.¹, No. 1) the third month. The tablet in question is dated on the twenty-sixth day, or eight days later, and both in the accession year. The accession of Nabonidus must, therefore, have taken place subsequent to Nisan 1st, B. C. 556.² The tablet is transcribed by Dr. Strassmaier (Nabn. I No. 2.)



Transcription.

ŠALŠI MA-NA KIURATSU ES-RU-U
 ŠA ŠARRI INA ABULLI
 ŠA E PARRA ID-DIN-NU
 ARAKI SIMANU YUM ESRA-ŠALŠI (KAN)
 ŠATTU RIŠ ŠARRUTI
 D. P. NABU-NAID ŠAR BABILU

Translation.

Six mana of gold, the tithes of the king, in the great gate of E. Parra, were given, (in the) month Sivan 26th day, in the accession year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon.

The richness of this tithe offering, equal to a large sum of the present currency, leads me to regard it as the offering of the king. Mr Pinches has already shewn (*B. & O. R.* No. 5, p. 72,) that these tithe dues were paid by villages as well as individuals, being apparently regulated according to the population. In another tablet (S+329) we have the record of a tithe paid to the several gods *Sinibu Mana hamilti sikli kaspi esru ša Belu Nabu Nergallu u Bilat Uruki*: "Two thirds of a mana five shekels of silver, the tithes of Bel, Nebo, Nergal, and the Lady of Erech (Istar)." Kings appear to have dedicated fixed offerings to the temples of Babylonia, as in the case of Nabu-apla-iddina (B. C. 850). In the tablet from Aboo-Hubba (*W. A. I. V*, pl. 61, col. V, 5-8): *Ana d.p. Šamas d.p. Ai d.p. Sernene ukinu akhu tsitti šarruti sipar šangani ina tseni* (LU-NIT-MES) *niš šarru šokat šattu*: "to Samas, Ai and Sernene he appointed to each a royal portion, (and) the portion of the priests of sheep, the victims of the king, the tale of the year." In Assyria also we find Sennacherib, after the defeat of Merodach-baladan, appointing offerings to his gods (*W. A. I. I. 37, Col. II, 61*): "*Ešru imiru* (𒂗𒍪) *kuranni, esra imiru sulappi* (KALUM-MA) *rēšti šu ana ilani nat Aššuri beli ya ukūn kakri*: "Ten omers of wine and twenty omers of first fruits, to the gods of Assyria my lords I appointed currently."³

Another tablet recording the gift of gold to the temple of the Sun-god is also in the collection (*A. H.* 268, *Strass. Nabn. No. 190*), in which mention is made of 32 $\frac{3}{4}$ shekels of gold for the making of chains

1) Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon. 1887. Heft 1.

2) The tablet of Labasi-Mar-luk or Labasi-Kurdur, in the British Museum, is dated 14 of the month Aiu (Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. VI., p. 3,) which reduces the interval to the short period of thirty four days.

3) See also the passage quoted by Mr Pinches (Trans. Soc. Bib. VII, 181) which records the yearly offering to the priests in the time of Demetrius.

nd tablets for the shrine of the goddess Ai.

As an example of the payment of tithes by private individuals, the following may be quoted: (A. H. 184, Stras. Nabu. No. 97) 9½ *Mana* 2½" *siġli kaspi ešru* 2) *ša* D.P. *Musezib-Marduk* (amelu)3) *sipru sippar(ki)* ana 4) D.P. *Bilat Sippur* (ki) *iddin* 5) Arakh airu yum VIII (kam) 6) *Šattu* III (kam) *Nabu-naid*7) *šar Babilu* (ki). "Five

sixth mana, 2½ shekels of silver the tithes of Musezib-Marduk the scribe of Sippara for the lady of Sippar (Anunitum) he has given, month Airu 8th day in the 3rd year of Nabonidus king of Babylon."

In an early number of the *Record* I hope to publish some inscriptions relating to Belshazzar and his household during the reign of Nabonidus.

W. ST C. BOSCAWEN.

FORTHCOMING PAPERS.—Arthur Amiaud: The Countries of Magan and Meluhha; E. Colborne Baber: Assyrian and Chinese Gates; Prof. Dr. S. Beal: Krishna and the Solar Myths; Fragments of a life of the Buddha (*P'u yao King*); W. St. C. Boscawen; Inscriptions relating to Belshazzar; Dr. L. C. Casartelli: Two discourses of Chosroës the Immortal-souled. II. Chosroës argues from the New Testament—Pehlevi Notes. III. The Semitic suffix—*man* and its origin; Prof. Dr. C. de Harlez: A Pentaglotte Nomenclature of Buddhist Terms; Dr Arthur Helbig: On Babylonian and Assyrian Music; Joseph Jacobs: The Nethinim, a Biblical Study; Prof. N. Kondakoff: New Archaeological Discoveries at Tashkent; Prof. Dr. T. de Lacouperie: Tattooing; Shifted Cardinal Points in Baby-

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In our last issue the two following misprints must be corrected:

P. 188, col. a, l. 19: for λ read $\mathbf{1}$ = p. 189, col. a, l. 7: for λ read $\mathbf{\lambda}$.

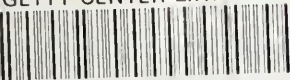
* * A title-page and table of contents of vol. 1 will be issued with next number.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.





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